

The Jane Austen Society



Report for 2023

The Jane Austen Society

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Front Cover: Patrick Stokes at the 2017 JAS conference in Halifax. Photograph by Sarah Emsley.

Back Cover: Winchester College Outer Gate, from R. Ackermann's *A History of Winchester College*, 1816. With kind permission of Winchester College.

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Chairman's Report for 2023

This is the last report that I shall write, after ten years as Chairman. As I demit office, it is proper not only to thank my fellow Trustees, but also to say that many of the jobs which they and other members of the Society have undertaken have been larger than mine, among them the Secretary, Treasurer, Membership Secretaries, Editors, and the Vice-Chairman (who has organised the AGM). It has been a pleasure to work with them. It was a further pleasure to announce in my last Chairman's contribution to the *News Letter* that the Trustees had unanimously voted to appoint Heather Thomas as my successor.

On a sadder note, the year saw the deaths of three people who played notable parts in the Society. Francis Austen was the patron of the Kent Branch, and the direct descendant of his namesake, Admiral Sir Francis Austen. Patrick Stokes, a descendant of Admiral Charles Austen, was a JAS Vice-President and former Chairman, patron of the South West Branch and JAS conference organiser. Christine Penney provided the annual survey of the sales rooms, fascinating material which is also a valuable scholarly resource. We remember them with affection and gratitude; their obituaries appear elsewhere in this *Report*.

The notable change in 2023 was a new venue for the AGM, after more than sixty years at Chawton. Chawton House told us that as a charity themselves they had concluded that they must charge us a realistic fee, which was far beyond our resources. We considered alternatives – another site at Chawton, another time of year for the AGM – and found them unworkable. I hope you will agree that the meeting at Winchester College was a great success. The warmth of the school's welcome was a delight; the Headmaster, Tim Hands, spoke eloquently and wittily, and we were also treated to some piano music charmingly played by Laurie Sawbridge. Like Chawton, Winchester is a place of pilgrimage for Janeites, and as the Warden allowed us the use of his garden – which has a branch of the Itchen flowing through it, the water clear as gin – we were able to preserve the country-house atmosphere.

A few of us on that day were given the privilege of visiting 8 College Street, which belongs to the school, to see the room where Jane Austen died. I think that all of us found the empty house, bare of all furniture, even more moving than we had expected. It is fitting to recall that 2023 was the 250th anniversary of the birth of Cassandra Austen, who attended her sister so devotedly in those last days. Jane's same anniversary comes, of course, in 2025, and we are laying plans for a special commemoration.

Richard Jenkyns

Minutes of the 67th Annual General Meeting held at Winchester College on 8 July 2023

1. **The President**, Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, welcomed Society members, their guests and the JASNA delegates to Winchester and to Winchester College, both of which had connections with Jane. It was an historic first for the Society's AGM to be held there, and for that the Society owed a huge debt of thanks to the Warden of Winchester College, Sir Richard Stagg, to the Fellows of the College, and to the Headmaster. The Society was especially grateful for the warmth of the welcome which the College had extended to the Society, and the extent of their hospitality.

Reflecting on the day, the facilities which the College had made available were very comfortable. The organisation had been both of the highest standard and unobtrusive. The booklet which the College had prepared outlining Jane Austen's connection to the College was a most interesting account and was beautifully presented. Attendees had been eager to collect their copy, generously offered free of charge. The exhibition of books and manuscripts which the College had prepared for the occasion was both fascinating and very moving. Members could echo Miss Bates as she arrived at the ball in *Emma*: "Well! This is brilliant indeed! – This is admirable! Excellently contrived upon my word. Nothing wanting." Finally, it had been very exciting to hear of the College's plans to open 8 College Street in 2025 so that the public could have the opportunity to see the room in which Jane died. It is to be hoped that the relationship between the College and the Society will continue to develop.

2. **The Chairman**, Richard Jenkyns, thanked the Headmaster for the warmth of Winchester College's welcome, and for the part that he had played personally. The Chairman observed that, after Chawton, Winchester was the chief site of Austen pilgrimage, principally for the house in College Street where she died and the cathedral in which she is buried; but there was also the connection with the College, to which the Headmaster had referred. Descendants of the Austen family had been schooled there across at least four generations.

The Chairman turned to the move from Chawton House. This had been the site of the Society's AGM since the mid-fifties, as guests of the Knight family and more recently of the Chawton House charity. Chawton House had told the Society the previous autumn that as a charity it considered that it must now charge the Society a realistic rent for the use of its premises. Added to the existing costs of the marquee and equipment, this was far beyond the Society's capacity. Fortunately, Winchester College was, at a relatively late stage, available to host us, and quick action by Matthew Huntley and Michael Kenning had secured the Winchester booking. No decision had been taken about future years, and members' views were welcomed.

The Chairman reminded members that under the new constitution, three

trustees had needed to resign and offer themselves for re-election. The three volunteers were Fiona Riley, Maureen Stiller and Heather Thomas. The postal vote for all three was 129 for, 0 against, two spoiled papers. Anyone who had not voted on paper and wanted to add their vote in person was offered the opportunity to vote later in the meeting, but no-one wished to do so.

The Chairman observed that the post of Treasurer is especially hard to fill, and not only because Matthew would be a hard act to follow. He was delighted to say that Andrea Clarke had agreed to take on the post. Unluckily, she had tested positive for Covid, and could not be present to be introduced to the membership. The trustees would co-opt her on to the committee to shadow the job, and the membership would be invited to confirm her at the next AGM.

The Chairman added that several of the trustees, himself included, would be retiring in 2024. He encouraged members to consider getting involved in running the Society, as trustees or as volunteers.

3. The Hon. Treasurer, Matthew Huntley, reported on the accounts for the year 2022, the year of the CIO application. Apart from the legal hoops through which Heather Thomas steered us so expertly and patiently, we needed to set up completely new financial arrangements for the new entity to cover PayPal, credit cards, insurance and, last but not least, a new online bank account. Despite the frustrations in particular of dealing with bank security, we were able to launch the CIO as planned on 1 January 2023.

The financial statements printed at the back of the 2022 *Annual Report* are therefore for the last year of what we might call the ‘old’ charity. The meeting was referred to the final two pages which give details of first income and then expenditure showing comparative numbers for the previous year, thus drawing attention to points of difference. Under Income, Sundry Donations included £3,000 donated by a most generous anonymous donor to be used to cover the CIO application, the cost of which appears under legal/professional expenses lower down the page. The higher cost of events (mainly the Weymouth Conference) was more than covered by the higher income from events – as intended. Website expenses now relate largely to maintenance which we can expect to continue at around £2,000 per year. The AGM cost returned to its pre-lockdown level after the reduced costs in previous two lockdown years. The cost of News Letters increased by £1,000 because of printing increases caused by a number of factors, including much higher costs of paper and electricity. Unfortunately this trend is forecast to continue and has forced the trustees to take a hard look at our subscription rates which the Treasurer warned may have to go up soon. The modest deficit shown on the bottom line at the end of the last page was not a concern now, but was certain to deteriorate in future years if no action is taken.

A breakdown of branches’ income and expenditure indicated that 2022 saw a return to pre-lockdown activity, once again drawing attention to the central importance of branch activities to the Society as a whole.

As regards our investment capital, 2022 was a poor year for our funds invested

in the COIC Charities Investment Fund, reflecting widespread falls in financial markets following the outbreak of war in Ukraine and its effect on worldwide energy prices. It left the value of our holding down by £30,000 to a value at the year end of £229,000. The year had started at a high point – in fact January 2022 was the highest point by some margin in the history of the fund – and so taking a longer view the closing value was still above the five-year average. It continued to yield a healthy 3% giving a much needed income last year of £6,800.

Turning to membership, the good news was that since the start of our drive for online membership we had chalked up 161 members signing up online. Fiona Riley had most capably taken up the challenge of managing this and reported that PayPal is being rightly seen as a more convenient way of paying subscriptions, particularly for overseas members. Joining online also means you get an expiry reminder to renew your membership. It was pointed out too that we have had requests from eighty-three existing members to be registered on the website so they can access the members-only area.

Total membership stood at 1097 (counting joint members as one). We were delighted to welcome fifty-nine new members in 2022 and already in 2023 a further forty and growing. Against this, the strict requirements of voting for the CIO application inevitably meant that a number of non-payers and part-payers had to be taken off our list. Some of these, it was good to report, have subsequently updated their standing orders and as a result been reinstated.

On behalf of the membership team, the Treasurer highlighted that we were having to close our old TSB account and must urgently ask all those paying by standing order to change them to the new NatWest account (number 70117276, sort code 51-61-09). He advised that this was easy to do and absolutely vital for the Society that it be done without delay.

In conclusion, he reminded members of the importance to the Society of gift aid reclaimed and exhorted new members willing and able to do so to tick the the gift aid box if joining on our website, or alternatively to contact our membership secretary, Sharron who would be glad to send them a form to sign.

Lieutenant Commander Francis Austen RN

14 April 1924 - 23 November 2023



On 23 November 2023 the Jane Austen Society sadly lost its last great member of that particular generation of Austens when Francis Henry Inskip Austen died, aged ninety-nine years and five months. A direct descendant of Jane Austen's naval brother, Admiral Sir Francis William Austen (1774-1865), the contemporary Francis was an admirer and supporter of the writing of his famous great-great aunt, Jane Austen.

Francis was born at Stock Rectory, Ingatestone, Essex, on 14 April 1924. His education began at Swanbourne House School, Bletchley, where he became Captain of School and Captain of Football. In 1938 he entered Marlborough College, following in the footsteps of his father and his oldest brother, Amyas. Leaving Marlborough early in 1941 to enlist and train for active service, Francis began a career in the Royal Navy.

He was posted into the frigate HMS *Kent* where he served between 1943 and 1944, first as a midshipman and then as a sub-lieutenant and lieutenant. During this period, the *Kent* provided cover for convoys carrying vital supplies on the Arctic route to and from northern Russia, and escorted British aircraft carriers while their planes attacked Norwegian airfields and German shipping. Later, the *Kent* intercepted a German convoy and sank two freighters and five escorts. Francis subsequently served on HMS *Enard Bay* (1946-47) and HMS *Superb* (1947-48). By 1952 he was in command of a minesweeper stationed at Hong Kong. Francis retired in 1954 at the rank of Lieutenant Commander.

Francis's life mirrored certain experiences of his impressive forebear, Admiral Sir Francis. As boys, each grew up in an affectionate and supportive clergy family in pleasing rural parishes. Admiral Francis was the fifth son of Revd George Austen, rector of St Nicholas, Steventon and All Saints, Deane, Hampshire, and his wife, Cassandra Leigh. Francis was the third son of Revd Frederick William Austen, rector of All Saints, Stock Harvard with Ramsden Bellhouse, Essex (1914-1945) and his wife, Mary Allan. Each was to enjoy a long life. Admiral Sir Francis died in his ninety-third year, his great-great grandson in his 100th.

As young men, both were patriots motivated to fight for England in times of

great national threat. In readying themselves for naval service, each studied at the best naval school of the day: the Royal Naval Academy at Portsmouth for Admiral Francis and its successor, the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, for Francis. During their careers, each served in North American waters: Admiral Sir Francis was Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indies Station in the mid- to late-1840s, a command which took him to Halifax, Nova Scotia every summer when the North American squadron made its headquarters there. Almost 100 years later the then young Lieutenant Francis sailed into Halifax at least once on naval operations. Thus, both naval officers became familiar with Halifax as a leading harbour for the deployment of naval forces in the North Western Atlantic.



Halifax August 1848 by Francis Austen's grandfather, Lt Herbert Grey Austen.
(Private Collection)

Though they lived in widely differing times, both men were warm in their admiration of Jane Austen's literary genius. The Admiral shared his thoughtful responses to *Mansfield Park* and *Emma* with Jane in 1814 and 1815. In later life he spoke with enthusiasm about her talents and publications. The contemporary Francis talked engagingly about Jane Austen and her family. Particularly memorable were his stories about the French Revolutionary War and the Napoleonic Wars as they affected the careers of his ancestor, Admiral Francis, and the Admiral's younger naval brother, Charles.

Francis Austen will additionally be remembered for his vigorous support of initiatives to further the appreciation and study of Jane Austen's writing, life and times. For decades he was an active member of the Jane Austen Society UK and in 1994 he became a founding member, along with his brother Alwyn, of the Kent Branch of the Society. Francis was also central to the planning of the highly successful Millennium Meeting in Bermuda of the Jane Austen Society UK and the Jane Austen Society of North America in May 2000. A featured theme was the connection between Bermuda and the naval careers of Jane Austen's brothers, Francis and Charles.

Five years later Francis was once more a consultant and attendee at another

meeting of JAS and JASNA with a naval connection. This conference, which explored the theme of ‘Jane Austen and the North Atlantic’, took place, appropriately, in Halifax, Nova Scotia given her brother Charles’s service in this port city during the years 1805-1811.

By virtue of his long life, Francis Austen had access to personal family perspectives about Jane Austen, her siblings, and the Austen family over generations. In addition, he preserved and generously shared access to Austen artefacts, such as the loan of Herbert Grey Austen’s watercolour sketches to the exhibition in Bermuda in 2000. Well into his nineties, Francis was a regular presence at Jane Austen Society AGMs each July as well as Kent Branch meetings throughout the year. He was a genial, empathetic man who had the gift of making people feel welcome. It is sad to think he will no longer come among us.

Sheila Johnson Kindred

Christine Penney

9 November 1942 - 19 November 2023



On 19 November Chris Penny, compiler of the *Annual Report*’s ‘Notes on Sales’ for almost thirty years, died peacefully in Warwick Hospital.

Chris joined the Jane Austen Society in 1975 and took over the ‘Notes on auction sales’ section of the *Report* in 1995. Her initial introduction expresses her enthusiasm for the task:

It is a great privilege to be invited to take over from David Gilson, not least because of the opportunity to give something back to the Society whose life membership cost me only £10 in 1975. As David Gilson brought his final report up to the end of 1994 I propose to keep to the calendar year from now on. I have changed the heading to ‘Notes on Sales’. In addition to auction sales it will be interesting to record some of the more notable booksellers’ sales also.

Every year since 1995, Chris’s inimitable scholarship and bibliographical skills have granted JAS members a glimpse into the fascinating world of text and manuscript acquisition. Her own delight in Austen collections of all kinds shines through the opening paragraph to each annual contribution. In 2022, for example, she recalled visiting David Gilson and Chris Viveash in 1997 and ‘sitting on the floor after lunch, while Chris did the washing up and David handed me treasure after treasure’. Chris never failed to write entertainingly, while taking her role very seriously. Although desperately ill in hospital, between the 10 and 12 November

she spent precious hours forwarding by email all the material she had gathered from auction sales since the beginning of the year, so that the 2023 'Notes on Sales' could be compiled.

Chris spent most of her working life at the University of Birmingham before retiring in June 2005, first as University Archivist, then as Head of Special Collections.

The staff at Hartlebury Castle in Worcestershire, where Chris had held the post of Hurd Librarian since 2008, note her passing with immense sadness. She was responsible for Bishop Hurd's large and internationally important collection, some of which formerly belonged to Alexander Pope, William Warburton and George III. Her passion for and knowledge of the Library and Castle, were an inspiration to many. She was also involved with the Religious Archives Group and was on the Fabric Committee at Hereford Cathedral. In her home town of Stratford-on-Avon, Chris was Treasurer for Welcome Home, a group which helps refugees relocated to Warwickshire, including Syrians, Afghans and more recent asylum-seekers.

Chris's contributions to the Society and to the communities in which she lived and worked will be greatly missed by all.

Hazel Jones

Patrick Stokes

17 March 1943 - 25 December 2023



Patrick Stokes, who died at home on Christmas morning 2023, was one of the best-known and best-loved figures in the Jane Austen world, here and abroad. Patrick had a double connection with Jane Austen – one that was a happy chance in life, one that was due to his own abilities, energy and charm. The good luck was in being descended from Jane Austen's youngest brother, Charles – Rear-Admiral Charles Austen, as he became, 'our own particular little brother' as Jane referred to him – the brother with the sunniest nature. Patrick was rightfully proud of his descent from Rear-Admiral Charles, and of his connection with Jane Austen. As a clever and amusing man himself, Patrick loved and appreciated her clever and amusing novels. Like so many of us, he never stopped learning about her and her world.

The enquiring mind and positive outlook which he would bring to his involvement with the Jane Austen Society were demonstrated early in life, when

at the age of eighteen he undertook a research trip to the Arctic Circle with the British Schools Exploring Society, where his trip report described him as having 'a cheerful disposition in adverse circumstances'. Born on St Patrick's Day 1943 and growing up in a large family in Surrey, he studied Natural Sciences at Trinity College Dublin, where he was a keen rower with the Dublin University Boat Club and made lasting friends. His thirty-year career in business took him around the world. Living in France, Nigeria and Germany, he was fluent in French and German, and in his own words 'had enough Swedish to get by'. He married his teenage sweetheart, Carina, who is herself Swedish, and they had four children: Emily, Bjorn, Saga and Robin – and in due course, several grandchildren, to whom he was 'Grandpaddy'.

Patrick had joined the Jane Austen Society in the 1980s, but it was only after retiring from business that his organisational skills and sociable character were fully exercised on behalf of JAS. His first major contribution was in 2000, when together with his cousin Francis Austen and others, he helped initiate and organise the groundbreaking conference in Bermuda, on which island Admiral Charles had met and married his first wife Fanny Palmer, daughter of the territory's Attorney General. As a result of the conference success, Patrick was co-opted onto the JAS committee that year. In the two decades that followed, he organised three further transatlantic conferences connected with the Austen family's naval history, and no fewer than eighteen annual UK conferences in various towns with connections to Jane Austen's life and work. Many JAS members will attest to the enjoyable and stimulating nature of these conferences which, with their variety of lectures and visits, enhanced our understanding of Jane Austen's world. Patrick greatly valued the part played by David Selwyn as academic director of conferences, and the two men had a wonderful rapport; they would stay up after most of us had gone to bed, relishing each other's conversation and sense of fun. The work that went into making sure these conferences ran smoothly was concealed by Patrick's imperturbable charm. In 2003, when the Jane Austen Society of North America (JASNA) brought their AGM to England, basing themselves in Winchester to celebrate their own twenty-fifth anniversary of existence, Patrick, together with David Selwyn, helped ensure the success of this very ambitious venture. On a single day they conducted 220 US delegates around the various locations in the small village of Chawton, turn and turn about, with military precision. Unfazed, only two weekends later, he was at Lyme Regis for the UK's own conference.

Patrick was the obvious person to be voted in as Chairman of the Jane Austen Society in 2005 when long-time Chairman Brian Southam retired. He chaired the regular committee meetings and the AGM, held on the third Saturday in July in a marquee in the grounds of Chawton House, with memorable aplomb. Patrick also became a Trustee of the Jane Austen House, bringing his own brand of good sense and diplomacy to the modernisation programme then in progress. In conjunction with Tom Carpenter, grandson of the founder and acting curator, he published three articles in successive *JAS News Letters* setting out the proposals for JAH and its collections.

On completion of his four year term as Chairman of JAS, Patrick chose to stand down and hand over to colleague David Selwyn. Now independent of the committee, Patrick continued to organise the annual conference, operating under the title Perram Events. As an ordinary (but of course *extraordinary*) JAS member, he continued to be a familiar and much-loved presence as guest (sometimes guest speaker) of meetings of branches and groups across the country and abroad, notably in the US and Australia. The last UK conference to take place under his direction was in September 2017, in Bath. Some of the happy memories and tributes to Patrick's kindness which poured in from conference attendees were printed in the *JAS News Letter* the following Spring.

Meanwhile in 2010 a new regional branch of JAS was established in the South West of England, meeting in Exeter four times a year. As a resident of Dorset (Patrick and Carina had relocated from London to Bridport in 2005, motivated by his love of the sea), Patrick not only attended almost all JASSW meetings, but kindly drove our Honorary Patron, his cousin Mrs Diana Shervington, from her home in Lyme Regis, to make it possible for her to attend well into her nineties. Patrick himself accepted our invitation to be JASSW Vice-Patron, and subsequently Patron of the branch. He was unfailingly helpful, and always a genial presence in the group, never more so than when donning an Admiral's uniform to deliver his highly entertaining talk on the Navy in Jane Austen's time.

To say that he will be missed is an understatement. Meetings at every level and in every setting will be the poorer without his sharp intelligence and irrepressible bonhomie.

Maggie Lane

Tributes to Patrick Stokes

The skies were dark and dreary and the rain pouring down – Texas cried at the loss of our beloved Patrick. He was one of the best men we have ever known – intelligent, witty, clever, diplomatic, scholarly, kind and a man whose true wealth was in his generous heart.

My family adored Patrick. He took my husband and two older daughters on a pub crawl in Harrogate, obtained entrance to the incredible Cottesbrook House (still to this day our 'dream' English estate) and arranged a picnic on Box Hill that we all agree will be a memory that stays with us the rest of our lives. His 2017 Halifax Conference is widely viewed as the best conference on Jane Austen ever. We loved too his 2015 visit to Texas, where he read Captain Wentworth's letter to Anne Elliot in full naval dress. My daughters and I begged him just last year at the 2022 JAS Weymouth Conference to return soon to Texas.

Patrick's emails were always wonderful – updates on his family, projects at his place in Sweden, politics and of course, plenty of Jane Austen gossip. I will miss those communications very much.

My husband Craig and our daughters Jane, Shirley and Wallis Kinney join with me in wishing that Patrick may forever rest in peace. He really will be loved that long.

Cheryl Kinney

I met Patrick Stokes for the first time on the first day of the September 2005 JAS Conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Patrick's great-great-grandfather, Captain (later Rear-Admiral) Charles Austen had visited Halifax several times between 1805 and 1811 during his time on the North American Station. Patrick organised the conference and invited me to speak, and he had somehow discovered that the first day was also my birthday. When I walked into the Admiral's Room at the Lord Nelson Hotel for the opening reception, he surprised me with a beautiful bouquet of flowers. I soon learned that this generous gesture was characteristic of Patrick, an excellent host in 2005 and at many other conferences, including the second Halifax Conference organised several years later, in June 2017.

Patrick had a real talent for bringing people together for conversations and for celebrations of Jane Austen's life and work, and the lives of other members of the Austen family too. I can still see Patrick, his beloved wife Carina, and others who attended the two Halifax conferences, at landmarks around the city that we visited together, including Government House, where Charles and Fanny Austen danced at a ball that Fanny described as 'splendid', St Paul's Church, where their daughter Cassy was baptized in October 1809, and Admiralty House, where Admiral Sir Francis Austen stayed when he was in Halifax as Commander-in-Chief of the North American and West Indies Station between 1845 and 1848.

As I said in a letter to Carina after I had learned of Patrick's death, I realised I had been hoping there would someday be another Halifax conference, with our dear friend Patrick welcoming us to the Lord Nelson yet again and helping bring the past to life. He'd be dressed in the uniform of an Admiral, with that wonderful sparkling gold against navy, and he'd present another extraordinary programme of lectures and tours that would enrich the lives of all the conference attendees and speakers. Alas, this third conference will have to take place in the imagination only, but thankfully we have the memories of the other two, and the comfort of the many friendships that developed because he had brought us together.

Sarah Emsley



*Sarah Emsley, Patrick Stokes and Sheila Johnson Kindred
on the steps of St Paul's Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia in 2017.*

Branches and Groups

Reports for 2023

Bath and Bristol Group

Members: Open membership. *Subscription:* None. *Cost of events:* £10 for talk and tea with sandwiches; £2 discount for Bath Royal Literary & Scientific Institution members.

As always, our meetings in Queen Square at Bath Royal – the name has been simplified – have offered some excellent speakers.

In January John Avery Jones spoke on ‘Legal Puzzles and Wills’ in Jane Austen’s family, which grabbed everyone’s attention, money being the root of all evil, allegedly.

April saw the return of Hazel Jones, who presented ‘Tensions at the Table: Dining Room Dynamics in Abbeys and Castles’. This illustrated talk focused on Ann Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and Austen’s *Northanger Abbey*.

In July Bath Royal held a Big Read session on *Mansfield Park*, led by Diana White and two more are planned for next year, beginning with *Sense and Sensibility* in March, which will be led by Penelope Byrde.

Diana White

Cambridge Group

Members: 33. *Subscription:* £15 individuals, £20 couples. *Cost of events:* meetings free to members except ticketed events. £5 for guests in person or on Zoom. *Publication:* one newsletter per year.

Our theme for this year was *Pride and Prejudice* and we began in January, enjoying a Zoom meeting jointly with the Wyoming Group in the USA. Our Chair, Hazel Mills, gave an illustrated talk called, ‘The Creation of Mr Collins’ where she looked at the numerous clergyman in Jane Austen’s life who could have helped shape the character of Mr Collins. Hazel also looked at the actors who had played Mr Collins in screen adaptations and how closely they may have resembled Jane’s own description of the gentleman. Jill Ottman of the Wyoming Group then gave a very entertaining and knowledgeable talk on ‘Horses in *Pride and Prejudice*’ and even brought along her own side-saddle to show us.

In early March Hazel gave another illustrated talk via Zoom from her home in Denmark, this time entitled, ‘Jolting Journeys in *Pride and Prejudice*’. She spoke about roads and turnpikes and the numerous journeys between Meryton and London that took place in the novel in addition to Lydia and Wickham’s flight from Brighton and Elizabeth’s tour to Derbyshire with the Gardiners.

At the end of March members of the group visited King’s College, Cambridge for an exhibition of Jane Austen manuscripts and books held in the College archives, and a short tour of the library. The collection includes the manuscript of *Sanditon* donated to King’s in 1930 by Jane’s two-times great-niece, Mary Isabella Lefroy.

Our traditional strawberry tea in June was replaced this year by some members of the group travelling to Hampshire during the Jane Austen Regency Week in Alton and Chawton. They were able to view the most recent letter of Jane's on display at Jane Austen's House which had belonged to our former Chair, and then took part in the Regency Picnic in the grounds of Chawton House.

In July we were treated to a theatrical evening when Margaret Seale Supramaniam produced '*Drama in Pride and Prejudice*' which featured numerous actors in costume performing selected excerpts from the novel and included singing and dancing.



We were able to have a bonus meeting in August when visiting scholar, Janine Barchas, entertained us with a talk at Selwyn College entitled, 'What Jane Bennet Saw' which was an interactive presentation about what the eldest Bennet sister may have witnessed when visiting her Aunt and Uncle Gardiner in London. The meeting was accompanied by afternoon tea.

The October meeting, 'Pride, Prejudice and Women's Prospects' was unable to go ahead as planned, due to the illness of the host. However we still met for a very cosy evening thanks to Margaret Seale Supramaniam generously bringing along some of her possessions from her ancestors who were alive and residing in Southampton during Jane Austen's lifetime. The articles included a small army uniform which created an interesting discussion on whether the uniform was made as a sample or for a child.

Other articles included numerous very interesting letters and pocket books and a beautiful painting box. This lovely watercolour set was from the renowned Ackermann of 'Ackermann's Repository of Arts' in The Strand, London. Our favourite letters of the evening were those pertaining to the parental disapproval of a suitor, so we did end up discussing 'women's prospects' after all.

Our annual Birthday Lunch took place again at Madingley Hall, near Cambridge on the actual date of Jane's birthday. We were joined by members on Zoom who could not attend in person, including our Chair, Hazel, from Denmark. Many members were in costume and all enjoyed a very interesting talk by Letty

Buxton entitled, 'No heroines but three significant women' (Mrs Jennings, Eleanor Tilney and Mrs Gardiner). We also had a very successful raffle with excellent prizes donated by our members.

The Birthday Lunch was the final meeting with Vicki Kerr Smith as our Secretary who has given us many years of her excellent organisational skills. We thank her for all her hard work during this time and are happy that she will remain with us as a member. Margaret Seale has kindly agreed to step in as our new Secretary with the help of Eric Nye as a Member at Large.

The Cambridge Group continues to enjoy collaborations with both the Wyoming Group in the USA and the Jane Austen Society of Jylland, Denmark.

Hazel Mills

Hampshire Branch

Members: 87. *Subscription:* £5 individuals, £8 couples living at the same address.

Publications: two newsletters per year and a periodical *Occasional Papers*.

Our committee continues to meet regularly via Zoom. Having been forced to use Zoom during the pandemic, we find it very convenient, as it enables more flexibility with the added benefit of saving time, by eliminating the need to travel to meetings.

This year we published as our *Occasional Paper*, 'Austen and the Country House' by Jeremy Munson. This article was originally published in *Country House* magazine. We were able to reproduce the article by obtaining a Grant of Licence from the magazine.

We had a successful Annual General Meeting at the end of April at Jane Austen's House. The business part of the meeting went smoothly before we were given a superb presentation by our speakers of the day, Paul Cooper and Jorien van den Bor from the Hampshire Regency Dancers, on Regency dancing. Both Paul and Jorien were in period dress which they discussed within their presentation. With slides and demonstrations, they told us about the origins and history of Regency dancing. They revealed the etiquette and meaning behind the dances and the dancing as well as the music that was used. It was a fascinating talk, demonstration and presentation.

At the beginning of June, on a gloriously hot sunny day, we visited Wyards Farm where Anna Lefroy, Jane Austen's niece had lived after she married the Reverend Benjamin Lefroy in 1815. Her aunt was a frequent visitor to the house. Wyards Farm is situated a mile west of Alton, on the A339 road to Basingstoke. It is set well back from the road in an idyllic rural setting. Jane Hurst, a local historian and one of our members, gave us a tour of the house, inside and out. Due to the size of the rooms and the number of our party, we were divided into two groups. When not on the house tour, we were at leisure to enjoy an afternoon tea in the beautiful garden. Much of the house remains as it would have been when Anna Lefroy lived there. The house and garden are not normally open to the public so we felt very privileged to be able to visit. It is described on the Visit Hampshire website as a gem and it certainly is.

In contrast, our next event took place on a very wet day at the beginning of August at Jane Austen's House. Our speaker was Dr Gillian Dooley, President of the History Council of South Australia and Honorary Research Fellow of Flinders University, who had recently completed a project of cataloguing all the Austen family music books for Southampton University. She presented Jane Austen's last four songs and discussed her musical relationships with the extended family. The event began in the Learning Centre with an illustrated presentation on the four songs and their origins, followed by recitals on the square piano in the drawing room of the cottage. Gillian was accompanied on the piano by Laura Klein and Judith Gore. There were three recitals in total as not everyone was able to fit into the drawing room at one time.

In November, we held our annual Discussion Event, which focused on the minor characters in the novels who affected the plot. The discussions were very interesting, imaginative and thought provoking.

In place of the December Birthday Lunch we are planning instead a meal at Côte in Winchester on 12 January.

Lesley Wilson

Kent Branch

Members: 100. *Subscription:* £12 individuals, £18 per household. *Publications:* three newsletters per year and one periodical *Austentations*.

In 2023 the Kent Branch held four speaker meetings, including our Summer Event and the Annual Birthday Lecture, two Novel Views discussions and a Craft Event on Zoom. It was a satisfactory year for the Branch with good attendances and several new members.

The AGM and Spring Meeting in March was held at the Spa Hotel in Tunbridge Wells, an elegant and appropriate venue for the lecture given by art historian Martin Heard, 'Vice, Virtue and Vitriol: Satire and Celebrity of Women in Georgian Britain'. Inhabitants of Tunbridge Wells might well have been shocked by some of the prints and cartoons shown depicting prominent women in crude and undignified situations, reflecting society's dislike and vilification of the female sex. We were reminded of Lydia Wickham and the thin line between a fall from grace and a loss of reputation. Jane wisely chose to 'quit such odious subjects' and after the interesting talk so did we, to partake of a lavish afternoon tea.

In April we held another of our increasingly popular Craft Events on Zoom, when under the expert guidance of Louise, Ellie and Sam, members embroidered a cross stitch bookmark of Cassandra's portrait of Jane Austen. This was such a pleasant way to spend a couple of hours, chatting and socializing while creating an attractive Austen keepsake.

June saw the annual Summer Event at Godmersham on a hot sunny day when the beautiful gardens were ours to enjoy. After coffee on arrival we listened to a most interesting talk given by Dr Gillian Dooley, Associate Professor and Honorary Research Fellow at Flinders University, South Australia, who was visiting the UK. Her talk, 'Jane Austen and Music', was a fascinating mix of research into

the Austen family's music books and Gillian's own recordings. 'The Austen Family Music Books' comprise eighteen volumes of sheet music and hand-copied manuscripts, collected and transcribed by the Knight and Austen families. The talk was followed by picnics in the grounds and explorations by the more energetic to the Godmersham Heritage Centre and the Folly, and the day ended with tea and cakes served in the Orangery by the committee.



The summer gardens at Godmersham. Photograph by Paul Morris.

In late June we were pleased to welcome Cynthia Kartman and a fellow member of the JASNA Churches Committee to Kent, where they were visiting churches associated with the Austen family at Godmersham, Goodnestone, Horsmonden and Tonbridge. Vivian Branson showed them the Austen monuments at the Church of St Peter and St Paul at Tonbridge and was presented with a signed copy of a well-researched book, *Fashionable Goodness – Christianity in Jane Austen's Time*, written by Brenda Cox.

Two very successful Novel Views discussions were held on Zoom, a good way to include members and guests across Kent and the wider world. In April we greatly enjoyed a session on 'Guess Who is Coming to Dinner?' when participants were asked to assemble two tables of guests, one with the worst dinner guests possible and another with the best, and to tell us why they had made their choices. Unsurprisingly, Mr Collins, Lady Catherine and John Thorpe were the stars of the worst tables, and Captain Wentworth, Elizabeth Bennet, Anne Elliot and Henry Tilney (the runaway favourite) were the best. Placement was important. Captain

Wentworth and Colonel Brandon could share military and naval experiences, Fanny Price and Captain Benwick their love of poetry, Mrs Elton and Lady C could compete for maximum attention, and Mrs Jennings could be relied upon to keep the party going, despite Mr Woodhouse's desire to end the evening early. Fun was had by all.

The second Novel Views in October had a more serious topic, 'Jane Austen and the Clergy'. We looked at the clerical characters, both bad and good examples of Christianity. Clergymen all had to have had a classical education at Oxford or Cambridge, but their roles as rectors, curates and vicars and their incomes from tithes were very different. Mr Elton, a vicar, needed a rich wife whereas Mr Collins, a rector, could afford a poorer one. It was important to get on with the gentry, who appointed clergymen (often their younger sons) to livings. We discussed their morals, particularly in the context of *Mansfield Park* with its more serious tone regarding religion, as opposed to more fashionable clergymen such as Dr Grant or Jane's own brother Henry. And we did not forget the wives, widows and fiancées of Jane Austen's clergy, questioning whether they would have been good benefactors to parishioners. Lastly, we named our favourite clergymen. Henry Tilney was again the favourite, but a close second was the ineffable Mr Collins, reminding us of how much we treasure Jane Austen's comic characters.

In November our Winter Lunch Meeting was held at the Rose and Crown hotel in Tonbridge, another new venue for us. Angela Barlow gave us a wonderful talk on 'Jane Austen and London', providing detailed maps of the contemporary city which made a fascinating and relevant background to her meticulous research on the Austens in London, as well as illuminating the experiences of characters in her novels. She was the perfect speaker, witty and knowledgeable, and her slides were so illuminating.

The Annual Birthday Lecture was held on 16 December, Jane Austen's birthday, on Zoom as Tonbridge Parish Church was not available. The speaker was the ever popular Professor John Mullan, who 'delighted us long enough' with an enjoyable talk on 'Jane Austen's Monsters'. He provided criteria for his monsters: they must attract no sympathy, must enjoy exerting power over others, must think extremely well of themselves, and are likely to be female. John also asked us, 'Who gets to speak last in each novel?' The answer was often a surprise. As John said, Jane Austen was always up to something.

Three issues of our full-colour Newsletter appeared throughout the year, edited by Dianne Brick. As well as Branch news, Dianne also included a fiendish quiz, information from galleries and auctions and a Getting To Know You feature introducing new members of the Branch. The twenty-third edition of *Austentations*, edited by Paul Morris, was fully illustrated and contained seven essays written by Kent Branch members. Twitter followers of Vivian's 'Jane Austen's Zest' numbered 1,870.

At the end of the year, we were saddened to hear of the death of Francis Austen on 23 November, at the age of ninety-nine. Francis was one of the founder members of the Kent Branch in 1994 together with his brother Alwyn Austen. Both were

direct descendants of Jane's brother Frank. We will sadly miss Francis's genial presence at our Branch meetings, and will remember him fondly in 2024 when we will celebrate thirty years of the Kent Branch.

Jill Webster

London Branch

Members: 96. Subscription: £10 individuals. Cost of events: £7 members. £10 for guests, to include tea and cakes. Publications: two newsletters per year.

The London Branch continues to be active in providing a variety of talks on a wide range of subjects at our venue behind Harrods.

In January we welcomed Professor Melanie Williams from Kent University speaking on 'Women in Jane Austen', with reference to film and television. Love them or hate them, the use of other media for the portrayal of all matters Austen is here to stay. Professor Williams provided an enlightening talk, with media illustrations of the many cogent points she highlighted in her argument.

March saw a talk by Dr Alison O'Byrne of York University on shopping and its importance both to Austen and within the novels. We all remember the use of Ford's shop as a plot device to enable characters to meet and reunite in *Emma*, rather like The Queen Vic in East Enders, and this and shopping in general were carefully explored.

In April we held our AGM, followed by one of our most riveting talks, splendidly and lucidly explained by Dr John Avery Jones, tax expert and tax tribunal judge, on taxes and the Austen family. The illustrative skill of Dr Avery Jones on the matter of Austen family wills and taxable expenses was most interesting and forensic. The quality of the original research was excellent. There was a lively Q&A afterwards. The afternoon session on Jane Austen's letters was led by Dr Louise Curran of Birmingham University. Again, this is an area we do not always hear much about and Dr Curran provided detail and insight into the significance of the letters, with Powerpoint illustrations.

Our summer months were punctuated by a performance and talk by Dr Gillian Dooley, Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Flinders University Music Department in Australia. Her latest research is on Caroline Austen's music book. She showed how Jane Austen adapted, in her own hand, the popular songs of the day and altered the lyrics to suit her purpose. She played examples of the music and sang some herself as further illustration of the music of the time.

In July we took part in the Mayfair Literary Festival, hosting an event in Henry Austen's town house in Mayfair. It is now a six-bedroom boutique hotel and on the hottest day of the year we met in the airy and cool pantry, one of the largest rooms in the house. Professor John Mullan and the Chairman ran two consecutive events. The hotel provided prosecco and macaroons and a conducted tour of the house. It has many nods to Austen and some fascinating furniture, such as a pair of Waterloo beds in one room. An original first edition of *The Loiterer* is on display. Access to a property which is normally off limits was thrilling. What an experience to run one's hands down the very banister which Jane must have used herself.

In October we ran a whole day session which culminated in The Patricia Clarke Memorial Lecture. Authors Roy and Lesley Adkins started our day with their wide-ranging Powerpoint presentation ‘All at Sea with the Austens’, a perennial subject of interest in the Austen world. Letty Buxton gave her second talk on *Persuasion* and who persuades whom in that most mature of novels.

The Patricia Clarke Memorial Lecture was given by Dr Joseph Crawford of Exeter University on ‘Romantic Writing in Austen’s Time’. We all remember Harriet Smith saying that Robert Martin had not yet read *Romance of the Forest* but had it on his reading list. Dr Crawford was a most entertaining and lively speaker and generous with his ideas and time.

Our Birthday Lunch at the Women’s University Club was on 16 December, Jane Austen’s actual birthday, and was very well attended. Professor John Mullan, our Patron, spoke after lunch and proposed the toast. Susanne Willman, a member of the committee, had made two wonderful lemon drizzle birthday cakes. Candles were lit and Happy Birthday duly sung. Afterwards, members of the committee read a series of extracts on the theme of music from the novels and this, followed by the raffle, concluded a very successful event.

Our Facebook page has almost daily postings read by 1,000 followers from around the world. We continue to strive to provide lively and informative events for all our members and look forward to 2024.

Hellen Blackwell

Midlands Branch

Members: 37. *Subscription:* £15 individuals, £10 concessions. *Publications:* two newsletters and one periodical, *Transactions*.

During 2023, the Midlands Branch saw major changes to the committee, as new and existing members stepped into key roles, Emma Westwood and Rebecca Williams replacing Jennifer Walton and Lynda Turner as Chair and Secretary respectively. Their aim is to reenergise the Branch after the pandemic caused some fundamental changes and a downturn in attendance.

At the AGM in March, as well as electing the new Chair and Secretary, Catherine Westwood became a co-opted member and Jennifer Walton took on the role of assistant treasurer. The committee has been meeting monthly since then, via Zoom in the evening, which works well, as three of the committee members are in full-time employment.

Since taking over the role of Chair, Emma Westwood has rebranded the Study Day as the Spring/Autumn/Festive Gathering, which she felt was more inclusive and would hopefully encourage new members, who may be too intimidated to attend, fearing that the day would be too academic for them.

Rebecca Williams has also been very active in establishing more social media platforms for the Branch. She has created an Instagram page and a YouTube channel. On the latter is a discussion Emma Westwood held as part of the Autumn Gathering, so members who were unable to attend could still feel in some way included in the day. We have more ideas for Instagram and YouTube content,

which we will be working on in the future.

We are making a concerted effort to try and post on Facebook regularly. We are also planning to utilise the platform more effectively for event promotion, as other means of boosting membership, such as posters and contacting various student unions at local universities have yielded disappointing results. We will also try to create Facebook events to see if those reach more people and result in new membership or higher attendance.

We hope in the future to produce regular newsletters, as opposed to quarterly, with details of upcoming events, including information of Austen-related events which members have attended and would like to share with the Society.

Our current venue, the Village Hall at Aston-by-Stone, seems to be working well, as Stone not only has a train station, but Stafford Station is a reasonable distance away, and the hall has its own onsite parking and is located on a main road, not far from a motorway junction. We hope to attract a diverse mix of speakers offering a range of subjects – academic, performative and demonstration pieces, including local history with Austen and Georgian connections.

In March, members enjoyed a most fascinating and humorous talk on ‘The Paradoxes of Dueling’ given by James Walton, as well as a talk on ‘The Body in the Library’ – one of the Jane Austen Society talks presented by Lynda Turner. The day concluded with our final talk on ‘Jane Austen and the Fourth Estate’ – a review by Jack Barber of newspaper articles in 2022 covering anything connected with Jane Austen. It was quite astonishing how many articles were Austen-related.

Our Strawberry Tea was at Goldstone Hall, where we had a delightful look around the flower and vegetable gardens before afternoon tea.

At the Autumn Gathering in October, attended by twenty-two people, we had a diverse selection of speakers. Peter Brown gave a very informative local history talk on ‘The Market Drayton Book Society’. The Book Society was founded in 1814 and is still active, with its rules virtually unchanged and we were pleased to discover that not only were women allowed into this society from the very beginning, but they also made a purchase of one of Austen’s works.

Alison Newbold, who is a PhD student at Chester University, followed with an informative talk on her research subject, ‘Jane Austen and the Landscape Garden: The Repton Connection’, which provoked extensive discussion.

The penultimate speaker was committee member Jack Barber on ‘George Austen: Jane Austen’s “Forgotten brother”’, who is often overlooked, since little is known about him and his unconfirmed medical condition. Finally, Emma Westwood led a light-hearted discussion entitled, ‘Sojourns and Tolerability: Which Austen character would you visit?’, which led to a lively debate about which heroine we would like to stay with.

We rounded off the year with a Festive Gathering, something a little different to our previous end of year meetings, affording the opportunity to socialise, which was somewhat limited on other occasions. The raffle also added to society funds. It was attended by sixteen people, including guests.

Emma Westwood

Northern Branch

Members: 154. *Subscription:* £7 individuals, £10 couples at the same address.

Publications: three copies of *Impressions* per year.

Our year began with our second Zoom lecture, which has now become a fixture in our Annual Calendar. Its title was 'Jane Austen's Alpha Girls – How Box Hill Makes Mean Girls of Us All'. It was delivered by Sarah Makowski, a learning and development professional, who describes herself as a dedicated Janeite. In a well-illustrated lecture based on her book, *Bitches in Bonnets*, Dr Makowski argued that Jane Austen's 'mean girls' can teach us some useful life lessons.

In March, our speaker was Dr Deborah Russell of York University, who presented "'Remember the country and the age in which we live": Gothic Britain in Romantic Women's Fiction'. This informative and stimulating look at the effect of the Gothic genre aimed at revealing the extent to which it offered eighteenth century women writers a medium for political commentary.

In April we were entertained by 'The Music of Jane's World', a concert by Eboracum Baroque. The Austen family had a large collection of music, both bought and hand-copied, and this concert drew on that collection as well as other music of the period. Five of the musicians, including a soprano, took us back to Jane's world and, to add to the picture, the Director described the instruments and how they have changed over the years. Not surprisingly this was a very well-received event, and we were delighted to see some audience members in period costume.

Our summer outing in June this year took on a different format, when we were pleased to welcome Caroline Jane Knight, Jane Austen's fifth great-niece to the Pavilion Hotel in York for an illustrated talk: 'Jane Austen and Me: My Austen Heritage'. This event, originally planned for 2019, was yet another casualty of lockdown, but it was well worth waiting for. Caroline spoke with ease, offering an insight into her heritage, and with great enthusiasm promoting The Jane Austen Literacy Foundation. A delicious Strawberry Tea followed.

Our study day in September, led by Dr Bill Hutchings was entitled 'Jane Austen's Juvenilia'. The morning session focused on 'Love and Freindship' and after lunch we looked at 'Catherine, or the Bower' and 'The Watsons'. It was, as ever with Bill, a most stimulating day.

This year our guest speaker at the November AGM and Irene Collins Memorial Lecture was Professor Fiona Stafford, a firm favourite with our Branch members. Her subject was intriguingly titled 'What are books for?' She pointed out that, while it might seem an odd question to pose for a talk about Jane Austen, her six novels 'often explore the way books are read and discussed and treated. Whether as aids to education or flirtation, conversation or social retreat, guides to morality and social etiquette, prized possessions, symbols of wisdom, wealth, or status, objects of love and loss, books perform many roles in Austen's fiction.' It was, as always with Fiona, a fascinating and stimulating afternoon, and a great way to round off our year.

Marilyn Joice

Scottish Branch

Members: 69. *Subscription:* £20 individuals, £25 couples. *Publication:* one newsletter per year.

The AGM of the Scottish Branch on 10 December 2023 marked the start of its twentieth anniversary. The year proved to be successful, with some wonderful talks and the trial of new venues. As Miss Bates says, “‘It’s such a happiness when good people get together.’” Our meetings have indeed proved a source of happiness as we have enjoyed good company, great food and excellent talks.

After several postponements, we held a most successful Study Day on 11 March. The talks were varied and entertaining. Sharron Bassett started the day with a brilliant talk on ‘Jane Austen goes to Carnegie’s Library’. She is to be highly commended for being able to step in at literally the last minute to replace the planned speaker who had tested positive for Covid that morning. Sharron explained the history and background to circulating libraries in Jane Austen’s time. Circulating libraries were not the only types of libraries at the time. There were also subscription libraries, which had a different business model. Sharron concluded with a brief history of the Carnegie public libraries, the first of which opened in 1883 in Dunfermline. The second speaker was Dr Daniel Cooke from the University of Dundee who spoke on ‘Austen Rewrites’. He gave us a fascinating insight into the multitude of Jane Austen spin-offs, including prequels, sequels, continuations and adaptations. He brought along some of the more unusual examples to show us. While most of us were familiar with *Death comes to Pemberley*, *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies* and the six novels rewritten by popular modern novelists, most of us had no idea of the immense scale of the genre. It is thought that there are between twenty-five and forty new Jane Austen rewrites a month, which is a staggering number. The final speaker for the day was our very good friend Professor Richard Cronin who spoke on ‘Reading Jane Austen and Jane Austen Reading’. Richard does a lot of research for his talks and always manages to both enlighten and entertain us.

On 13 May, we returned to Edinburgh for the first time since the pandemic. The meeting was held in the Augustine United Church close to the National Library of Scotland and the National Museum of Scotland. Although there is no parking, it is easily accessible by public transport. Our speaker was Penny Byrde who gave the most interesting illustrated talk ‘A Round of the Utmost Diversion: Dress and Social Life in Jane Austen’s Bath’. Penny not only displayed her excellent knowledge of the clothes and fabrics, but also included fascinating snippets of the way of life in Bath at that time.

On 22 July, after several cancellations, we held our annual Strawberry Tea in the form of a ‘Conversation with Margaret Dean’ followed by a sumptuous tea. Margaret Dean is our Patron and a former Lord-Lieutenant of Fife. Prompted by questions from Sharron Bassett, Margaret shared stories from her very full and interesting life. This meeting was held at the Pitbauchlie Hotel in Dunfermline for the first time. The venue worked well and the committee has decided to continue to use it as our main venue.

On the 10 October, the Nora Bartlett Memorial Lecture was delivered by Dr

Katie Garner from the University of St Andrews. The Pitbauchlie Hotel ensured that we were well fed before we settled down to hear about 'Jane Austen at the Seaside'. The well-illustrated talk featured maps showing the locations of all the seaside places mentioned in the novels as well as the approximate location of Sanditon. Jane Austen's own love of the sea comes out in her descriptions of Lyme, Uplyme and Charmouth in *Persuasion*. Her usual ironic tone is left behind and her genuine admiration of the landscape is shown. Katie discussed the role of the seaside in *Emma*, *Persuasion* and the unfinished *Sanditon*. The seaside can have health benefits and restorative properties, but as the weather is volatile, it can also put people in danger. Katie backed up her arguments by using snippets from Jane Austen's letters, advertisements of the time and scandal involving Princess Caroline. As someone who came from Southend, Katie said that she agreed with Mr Woodhouse that Cromer was a nicer destination.

We celebrated Jane Austen's birthday with a sumptuous afternoon tea at the Garvock Hotel, our final meeting there. Before tea, Maureen Kelly entertained us with a well-prepared talk which described how Christmas traditions have developed over time. She explained the origins of Christmas trees and cards and showed us pictures of Victorian Christmas cards which both shocked and delighted our members. Christmas celebrations during Jane Austen's time would have been low key, but she would have celebrated the festival. Maureen reminded us that this was not the case in Scotland which, after John Knox, regarded Christmas as a pagan festival.

Our Facebook page is doing well and is a good way of maintaining contact with overseas groups.

Marlene Lloyd-Evans

South West Branch

Members: 72. Subscription: £10. Cost of all-day events: two talks, coffee, biscuits and buffet lunch – £20 members (£24 non-members); without lunch £12 (£13). Publication: two issues of Pleasant Intelligence.

We lost two important figures in 2023. In November committee member Gay Harris died; then on Christmas morning Patrick Stokes died. He was our Honorary Patron and a former Chairman of the Society.

Lesley and Roy Adkins stood down as committee members at the end of the year. They had held a number of key roles, among which Lesley was our Branch Representative and Roy edited *Pleasant Intelligence* and since no one has volunteered to take his place, the publication is not likely to appear next year. JASSW members thank them both for their invaluable contribution to the smooth running of the Branch.

At the January meeting the first talk was 'Jane Austen and Sex' given by branch member Stephen Mahony. Beginning on a light note with a trigger warning, his talk provided plenty of evidence to prove that Jane Austen was not ignorant when it came to sexual matters. Her early, unpublished writing features unmarried mothers, adultresses, mistresses and seducers, and her mature works are not

without their share of illegitimate children and extra-marital alliances. As Stephen noted, of the six great novels, only *Northanger Abbey* is free of extra-marital sexual relationships. Jane Austen was certainly not a prude, but in her novels she drew clear distinctions between moral and immoral behaviour. Charlotte Brontë claimed that Jane Austen's writing lacked passion of any kind – an assessment that this talk refuted. The Q&A session provoked a lively discussion on whether women gained more freedom or the opposite on marriage, with the consensus that rich widows like Mrs Jennings were the most fortunate.

David Brandreth gave the afternoon talk on 'Jane Austen's Purse'. David related how Jane Austen would have carried in her purse coins dating back to Charles II, and he described the different types of coins from each subsequent reign. In George III's reign there was a shortage of silver and copper coins, on two occasions over-stamping captured Spanish silver coins with the King's head, while severe penalties existed for 'coining' or counterfeiting. Tokens rather than coins were common in many places, and in *Persuasion* Admiral Croft refers to a silver token that was issued by the Bank of England, when he compares his wife's blister to the size of a three-shilling piece. In 1816-17 the quality of coinage was improved at a new mint, not far from the old one at the Tower of London. Jane Austen wrote to Fanny Knight in February 1817: 'You are worth your weight in Gold, or even in the new Silver Coinage.'

At the March meeting the first speaker was Branch member John Avery Jones, CBE, a former Judge of the Upper Tribunal (Tax and Chancery Chamber), a retired visiting professor at the LSE. His excellent talk was on 'Entails: what they are, how to bar them, and their importance in the novels'. Since 1285, entails had prevented the sale of estates in order to protect the rights of heirs. The roles of tenants for life and tenants in tail together with the process of barring an entail were explained. Members were encouraged to seek out John's published papers in JASNA's *Persuasions On-Line* and the *JAS Annual Report*.

The afternoon speaker was Sue Morris, and her subject was 'Jane Austen and the Cookes of Great Bookham, Surrey'. For JASSW members, this talk was especially interesting in that it provided the geographical background for both *Emma* and 'The Watsons', as well as giving an insight into godparents at that time and Jane Austen's connection to the Cooke family. The Reverend Samuel Cooke, since 1769 the vicar St Nicholas at Great Bookham, was Jane's male sponsor. His wife was Cassandra Leigh, Mrs Austen's cousin. In Jane Austen's surviving letters, there is hardly any mention of the Cookes, though it is clear that she felt lukewarm about the pair and did her best to avoid staying with them. It is known that she met them when living in Bath in 1805 and again in London in 1811. Three years later, Jane probably stayed at Great Bookham for a fortnight, and it was during this visit that she may have collected material for the setting of *Emma*.

The June meeting began with a talk by Sue Dell, who used until recently to be a volunteer at Jane Austen's House. Her theme was 'Let there be light', and she gave a fascinating, illustrated account of the types of lighting in Jane Austen's time. The different types of candle were described – rush lights, made from leftover animal

fat; tallow candles made by repeatedly dipping the wick into rendered animal fat and the superior type, dipped once or twice in beeswax. In *Emma*, Mrs Elton talks about wealthy Mrs Bragge having wax candles in the schoolroom, which was unlikely and yet another example of Mrs Elton's attempt at one-up-womanish.

In the afternoon our talk was 'Offstage Austen' by John Mullan, who was introduced by Patrick Stokes, setting the tone for the amusement and delight that followed. John is the Lord Northcliffe Professor of Modern English Literature at University College London. He concentrated on revealing hidden narratives and meanings in Jane Austen's fiction, where a world of conversation and gossip occurs off the page, providing clues to various other related events. In *Mansfield Park*, Mrs Norris talks about servants the most, claiming to be concerned for their welfare, but her contradictory statements reveal that she probably bullies them. In *Emma*, Weymouth is mentioned seventeen times, and the reader (unlike Emma herself) can work out what has been happening between Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax. At the Hay Festival in 2015, John told the audience about his fifteenth reading of *Emma*, when he realised that while Mrs Bates slumbered, the pair had kissed, until interrupted by the noise of visitors coming up the staircase. It made headline news in *The Telegraph*.

Our last meeting of the year was in September. Dr Joseph Crawford, senior lecturer in the University of Exeter's English Department, gave a talk called 'Jane Austen and popular romance culture'. Dr Crawford engaged with the audience throughout, expecting answers to his lively questions. The early meanings of 'romance' and 'romantic' were discussed, together with later interpretations involving love affairs and attachments. He described the growth of the Austen cult and its popular manifestations – films, tv series and Austen merchandise. This was an unusually wide ranging talk.

The afternoon talk by author and Branch membership secretary Hazel Jones was called "'Within four miles northward of Exeter": Landscapes of the Mind and Map in *Sense and Sensibility*', which was accompanied by illustrations of contemporary maps and prints. In this Austen novel, the landscape is significant in character revelation and development, and we learned from Hazel about the places in Devon that Jane Austen may have known and where she might have travelled during her visits in the early 1800s.

Stephen Mahony

Southern Circle Group

Members: 15. *Subscription:* £5. *Publication:* No regular newsletter, but updates sent by email.

The Southern Circle met three times during 2023, once as a hybrid meeting on Zoom and in the Learning Centre at Jane Austen's House, Chawton, and twice on Zoom alone.

Our first meeting was in March and our topic was one of our hugely enjoyable 'what if' topics: 'What would the main characters' offspring be like?' One of our number thought that Henry and Catherine Tilney's children would be brought up

more by trial and error and that they would form a mixed cricket eleven with their cousins (Eleanor's children), while Fanny and Edmund Bertram's children (of whom there would be several as Fanny never could say no to Edmund) went to Winchester College (the boys) or were home-makers (the girls). Another member thought that the Ferrars's four children would grow up to be very serious-minded people who went into politics and were abolitionists and against the enclosure act. Possibly they were a tiny bit boring, unlike their cousin, Miss Brandon, who was beautiful and talented – and just a bit spoiled. We always enjoy these apparently light-hearted discussions, which invariably tell us something more about the characters.

Our June and October meetings discussed in-laws and minor characters respectively.

Fiona Ainsworth

Jane Austen and Winchester College

Richard Foster

Winchester College is an independent boarding school in Hampshire, fifteen miles to the west of Jane Austen's house in Chawton.¹ No fewer than eight of Jane's nephews were educated at the College, six being the sons of Edward Austen Knight. These, with their years at the school, were Edward (1807-11), George (1808-11), Henry (1810-13), William (1813-14), Charles (1816-20), and Brook John (1822-26). In addition, her eldest brother James sent his son James Edward (1814-16) to the school, and her brother Francis sent his third son George (1827-30). Jane Austen forged a second connection with the College when she moved to Winchester for the final weeks of her life and died in a property now owned by the school.

As a result of these links, the collections of Winchester College contain a quantity of material potentially of interest to Austen scholars: (1) documents relating to Jane Austen's nephews and the history of the College during their time; (2) items connected with No. 8 College Street, the house in which Jane Austen died; (3) a small group of Jane Austen manuscripts, and several early editions of her novels, donated to the College in the twentieth century and now in its Fellows' Library. Many of these items will feature in an exhibition to be held in the school's museum (Treasury) in the summer of 2025, and concurrently in No. 8 College Street, which will be open to the public for the first time.

Jane Austen's Nephews

Winchester College was founded in 1382 and received its first pupils in 1394. By Jane Austen's time it attracted boys from across the country and was famous as the oldest of the English public schools. Pupils were divided into two categories: seventy scholars whose education was paid for by the foundation and who lived in the medieval Chamber Court, and a varying number of fee-paying 'commoners' who had separate accommodation on an adjacent site. Scholars and commoners were entirely segregated apart from their lessons, which took place in the seventeenth-century brick building known as School.

All of the Austen nephews were commoners, paying fees of around £100 per year. Most of this was for board and lodging (c. £45) and tuition (c. £15), plus various charges for extra lessons (e.g. in writing and drawing), and payments to servants and tradesmen. The number of commoners grew considerably in the years around 1800, from forty-five in 1792 to 133 in 1817. They lived in a building to the west of the medieval College, which later became known as 'Old Commoners'.

Constructed largely in the eighteenth century, and demolished in 1838, it consisted of a long courtyard around which were arranged dormitories, studies and a dining hall, with accommodation for the headmaster at the northern end, facing onto College Street. Although conditions were primitive, commoners nonetheless



*Old Commoners Court at Winchester College.
Watercolour by Richard Baigent, 1838. Winchester College Aw489.*

lived more comfortably than the scholars. They enjoyed better food and could supplement their meals with supplies bought from pastry cooks and confectioners who sold their wares by the gate onto College Street. There were three servants to attend to commoners and they were supervised by three tutors, who helped with work and maintained discipline.

The names of all members of the College were recorded in the annual school lists, known as ‘Long Rolls’. These were written out by hand until 1812 and thereafter printed.² Pupils are listed in order of seniority, with 6th Book at the top of the school, followed by 5th Book (divided into junior, middle and senior parts) and 4th Book (also divided into three parts). Boys moved through these forms according to their academic achievements rather than at a specific age, and so the Long Rolls can provide interesting information about a pupil’s progress through the school. As described by Hazel Jones in *The Other Knight Boys*, the Austen nephews had contrasting fortunes at the College: Edward became the senior prefect of Commoners, while William proceeded no further than twenty-sixth position in the Middle Part of 5th Book.³ Charles’s otherwise successful school career was marred by his involvement in a serious pupil rebellion in 1818.⁴

The Long Rolls are the only documents in the College archives that refer directly to Jane Austen’s nephews, but other items are preserved elsewhere. At Chawton House, for example, is a Latin grammar book given by Edward Austen Knight to his son George in 1808.⁵ Among the Austen family papers (published in 1946) is a half-yearly school bill for James Edward Austen, dated December 1814.⁶ It shows that he took none of the optional lessons on offer (in French, writing and

dancing), but attended lectures on Natural Philosophy and an oratorio, and spent three pounds and sixteen shillings on books.

While the scattered surviving materials cannot give a very full picture of the school careers of Jane Austen's nephews, the general history of the College in this period is well documented and we therefore have a good idea of the education they received and the conditions in which they lived. One notable feature of the school was its rich literary culture; there were prize medals for English and Latin verse and the archives contain many poems by pupils. Although none of these are by the Austen nephews, a manuscript volume in Hampshire Record Office includes several poems written by James Edward Austen during his time at the school. Among these are 'Lines written for a medal at Winchester',⁷ and 'Moses / Written at Winchester by J.E. Austen. In Commoners'.⁸

The College is mentioned quite frequently in Jane Austen's correspondence, beginning in 1807 when her eldest nephew, Edward, was about to join the school. 'We shall rejoice in being so near Winchester', she wrote to Cassandra from Southampton, 'when Edward belongs to it, & can never have our spare bed filled more to our satisfaction than by him.'⁹ Jane was familiar with two of the headmasters of Winchester: William Stanley Goddard (1793-1810) and Henry Dyson Gabell (1810-1823). In letters to Cassandra and her brother Francis, she criticised both Dr Goddard's insistence that each boy should remain present until the moment the school went down for the holidays, and the more relaxed attitude of his successor.¹⁰

Jane's letters to the young James Edward Austen, with whom she had a particularly close relationship, make a number of playful references to the College. At the end of the summer term in 1816, she reported: 'We saw a countless number of Postchaises full of Boys pass by yesterday morn^g—full of future Heroes, Legislators, Fools, & Villains.'¹¹ When James left Winchester the following December, Jane wrote:

Now you may own, how miserable you were there; now, it will gradually all come out—your Crimes & your Miseries—how often you went up by the Mail to London & threw away Fifty Guineas at a Tavern, & how often you were on the point of hanging yourself—restrained only, as some illnatured aspersion upon poor old Winton has it, by the want of a Tree—within some miles of the City.¹²

No. 8 College Street

Jane Austen came to Winchester in May 1817, putting herself under the care of Giles King Lyford, surgeon ordinary at the County Hospital. She and Cassandra took lodgings at No. 8 College Street in an area of the city already familiar to them both. A few doors down the road was John Burdon's bookshop, where Austen's father held an account, still trading today under the name P&G Wells. Nearby, in the cathedral close, lived Elizabeth Heathcote and her sister Alethea Bigg, old friends from their childhood in Steventon. Jane's nephew Charles was then in his third term at Winchester and able to visit his aunt in College Street.¹³



No. 8 College Street today.

The house in which Jane Austen spent her last weeks lies by the north-western entrance to the College, known today as Halifax Passage. It was purchased by the school in the late nineteenth century and the archives have therefore come to contain a quantity of material relating to the property, including plans and title deeds, notes from extensive researches made by the Keeper of the Archives in the 1930s, and various drawings, prints and photographs that show the development of College Street over the course of the nineteenth century. In 2018, the College commissioned an architectural survey of No. 8, adding to our understanding of the house in Austen's time.¹⁴ Although some uncertainties remain, all of this information combines to give a reasonably full picture of the setting for Jane Austen's last days.

The main part of the house dates from the eighteenth century, though it may have been constructed around an earlier core. There were various additions and alterations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and so the building is not exactly as Jane Austen knew it. The staircase, for example, is not in its original position. An extension to the rear of the house dates from the early nineteenth century; it may have been built before the Austens came to stay, or soon afterwards. We cannot be certain, therefore, whether Jane and Cassandra occupied only the two front rooms on the middle floor (the drawing room with a bow window, and

the room next to it), or also had use of the two bedrooms in the extension to the rear.

Doubt has occasionally been cast on the identification of No. 8 as the house in which Jane Austen died,¹⁵ but the claim is made certain by three pieces of evidence. The first of these is a brief description in one of Jane Austen's last letters, written 27 May 1817: 'Our Lodgings are very comfortable. We have a neat little Draw^g-room with a Bow-window overlooking D^r Gabell's Garden.'¹⁶ This garden, originally for the use of the headmaster, remains opposite No. 8. A brick wall that once separated the garden from the road was removed in the early twentieth century and the space was opened to the public.¹⁷ The position of the house is confirmed by a statement in James Edward Austen's memoir of his aunt that she died in 'the corner house in College Street, at the entrance to Commoners'.¹⁸ Although 'Old Commoners' was demolished in 1838 and new buildings erected on the site, the passage from College Street remained in the same position, with No. 8 at the corner. Since James Edward was a commoner at Winchester from 1814 to 1816, and took part in Jane's funeral procession a year after leaving the College, his testimony on this point is very reliable. Finally, there is the fact that Jane's letter of 27 May is addressed from 'M^{rs} Davids, College S^t Winton', and it can be shown that, at the time of Jane's death, a Mrs Mary David was in possession of No. 8.

In the early nineteenth century, Nos. 8-10 College Street were the property of Winchester Cathedral. The leasehold of each house was granted for a period of thirty years, renewable every ten years on payment of a fee.¹⁹ The houses were often sublet, and so the holder of the lease was not necessarily the occupant of the house. In 1817, the leases of No. 8 and No. 9 were held by Mary David, who had inherited them from her first husband, Gale Miller (d. 1813), a confectioner. In April 1817, Mary's second husband, Matthew David, took over the lease of No. 10 College Street. No. 8 is the only one of these three properties with a bow window, securely establishing it as the house referred to as Mrs David's in Jane's letter. It seems most likely that Mr and Mrs David lived in one of their other two properties (No. 9 or No. 10) while renting No. 8 to tenants. In 1831, Mary and Matthew David were recorded as the occupants of No. 8, although the lease at that time was held by two other local residents, Thomas Deane and James Robbins. In 1841, Mary David (now widowed for a second time) again took over the lease of No. 8 and on her death in 1843 the lease was bequeathed to her neighbour Frederick La Croix.

La Croix, like Mary David's first husband, was a confectioner. He had lived in College Street at least since the 1810s,²⁰ and in 1826 was recorded as the occupant of No. 10. While documents describe Frederick La Croix as the 'nephew' of Gale Miller and Mary David, their actual relationship is not clear. La Croix and Miller were among several confectioners in the vicinity of the College and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, No. 8 had become the school's principal tuck shop. George Pyne's watercolour of College Street shows a large shop window to the left of the front door.



View of College Street by George Pyne, c. 1852. Winchester College Aw431.

It must have been installed by La Croix, since an earlier view of College Street (drawn in 1838) shows two sash windows in the same position. La Croix renewed the lease of the property in 1851 and died in 1857. His business was taken over by his son Charles Octavius La Croix (known as Octo) and daughter Sarah. They remained at No. 8, and in 1876 purchased the freehold of the property from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In 1893 Octo and Sarah retired and sold their house to the College, in whose possession it remains. No. 8 has since been used as residential accommodation, most recently for schoolmasters (known as Dons at Winchester).

From the late nineteenth century, No. 8 began to attract public attention for its connection with Jane Austen. Around 1890, Octo La Croix installed a stone plaque above the door, recording it as the house in which she died. This was done with the encouragement of one of the Dons, Henry John Hardy. The plaque, since replaced,²¹ was designed by Herbert Kitchin, a local architect. Writing in 1934, Kitchin recalled:

[Octo] wanted it because he said he was plagued to death by people looking in and asking him if it was the house where Jane Austen died. When my father met the dear old man about a year after he said he hoped it was all right now, and Octo said "Oh no its much worse; people comes in now and asks Who WAS Jane Austen?"²²

In the 1930s, efforts were made to piece together the history of the house and to preserve the oral testimony of those connected with it. Hardy noted down what Octo La Croix had told him about Mrs David,²³ and Herbert Chitty, the College Archivist, recorded the memories of a Miss Goater, who had been in service with Octo and Sarah La Croix in College Street.²⁴

To face p. 100.



F.J. Baigent. del.

COLLEGE STREET, WINCHESTER, IN 1838.

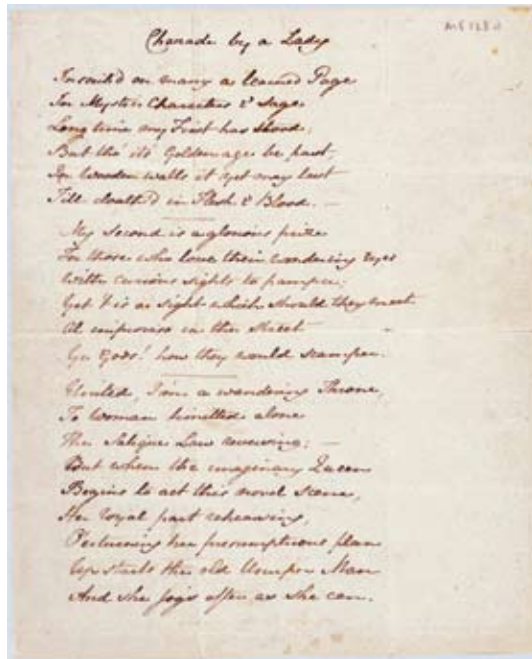
Wood engraving of College Street by Francis Baigent, published in H.C. Adams, Wykehamica (Winchester, 1878), facing p.100. The engraving is based on a drawing by Richard Baigent, made in 1838 (WCM E/12/2/2)

Austen Manuscripts and Printed Editions

Several decades after the purchase of No. 8 College Street, the school received a small group of manuscripts written by members of the Austen family. They were part of a collection sold in 1925 by Charles Austen's granddaughters, some items from which were purchased by the British Museum and most of the remainder by John Pierpont Morgan Jr. A brief catalogue of the collection was written by R.W. Chapman and published in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1926.²⁵ According to Chapman's article, J.P. Morgan generously accepted a suggestion that some of the manuscripts he had purchased should remain in Britain and be 'presented to various libraries or public places, as seemed appropriate'. The article records Winchester College as the recipient of four items, all now in the Fellows' Library. Three of these relate to Jane's death and burial, and so are particularly associated with Winchester. The other manuscript has no connection with either the school or the city, but is valuable as an example of Jane Austen's handwriting.

In 1972, the Austen manuscripts were joined by three early editions of her novels: a second edition of *Sense & Sensibility* (1813), and first editions of *Emma* (1816) and *Northanger Abbey / Persuasion* (1818). These came to the College as part of a collection of books bequeathed by Horace Arthur Jackson (1884-1972), a pupil (C House, 1898-1903) and Don (1908-47) at Winchester.

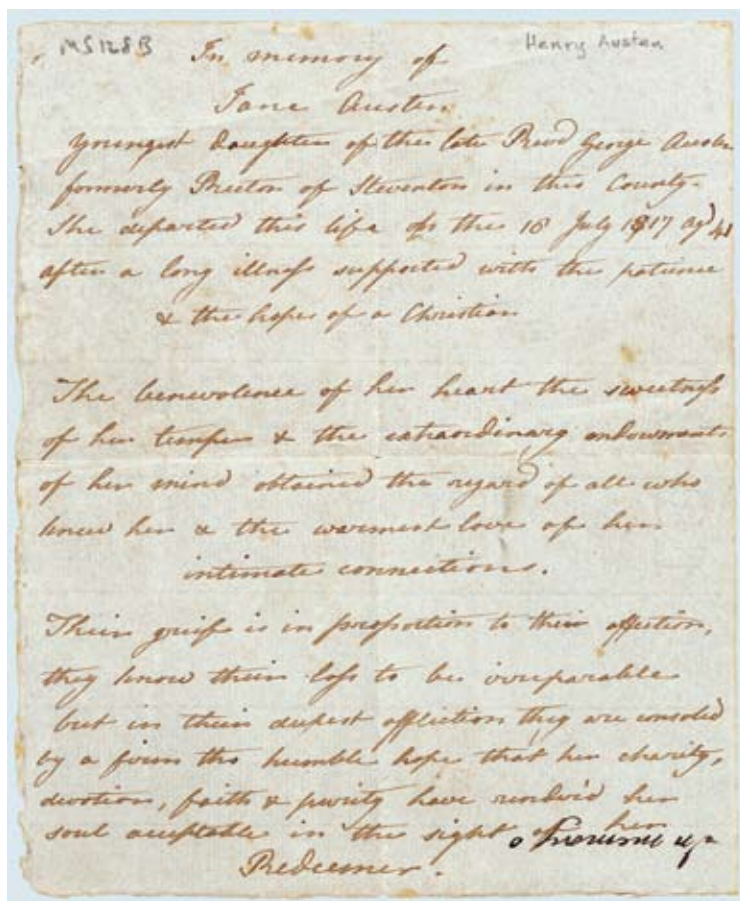
Appendix 1: Catalogue of Austen Manuscripts at Winchester College



MS 128A: Catherine Maria Fanshawe, 'Charade by a Lady', copied by Jane Austen. 1 leaf (23 cm x 18.5 cm), watermarked with a crown.

Catherine Maria Fanshawe (1765-1834) was the daughter of a Surrey squire in the household of George III. Her poems appeared in print only after Jane Austen's death, but circulated in manuscript during her lifetime. These lines were first published anonymously in 1823 in an anthology edited by Joanna Baillie, under the title 'A Riddle',²⁶ and again under the same title in Fanshawe's *Memorials* (1865) and *Literary Remains* (1876).²⁷ Jane Austen's copy contains a number of variant readings that differ from the printed versions of the text.²⁸

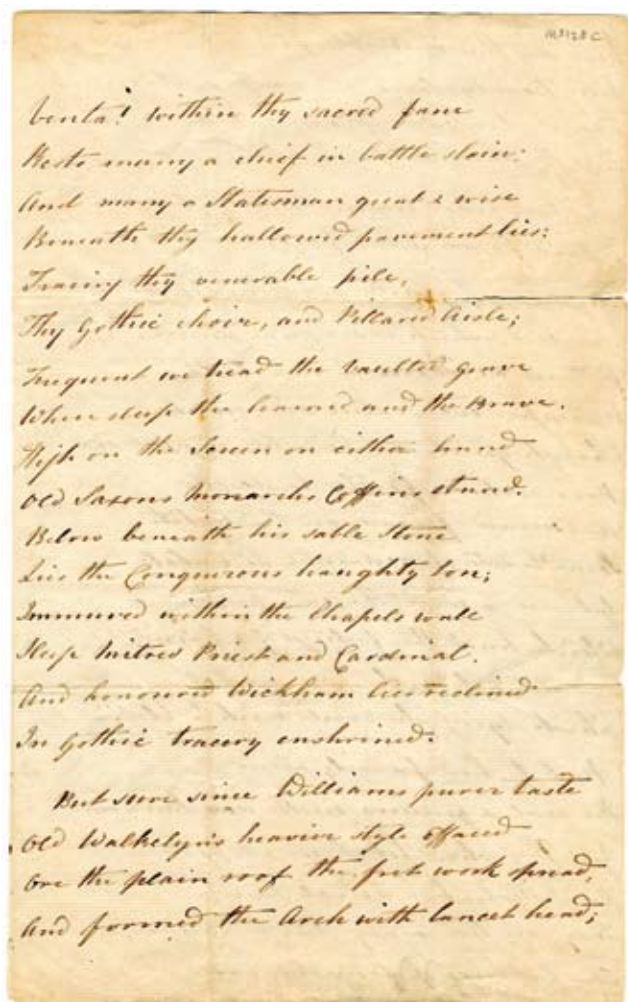
This manuscript was No. 16 in Chapman's list (1926), where it is described as 'of doubtful authorship'. In 1984 David Gilson placed it in an appendix to his list of Jane Austen's verses, identifying the lines as 'in Jane Austen's hand, but not necessarily composed by her'.²⁹ The author was first identified in a supplement to Gilson's article.³⁰



MS 128B: Text of Jane Austen's ledger stone in Winchester Cathedral, 1817.
1 leaf (19.2 cm x 15.8 cm), watermarked '1812'.

The text of this manuscript is identical to that inscribed on the ledger stone over Jane Austen's grave, but numerous differences of punctuation and capitalisation suggest that this is a final draft rather than a transcription. The hand, as one would expect, appears to be that of Henry Austen, who oversaw the arrangements for Jane's burial. It may be compared, for example, with his handwriting in Jane Austen's *Volume the Second*.³¹

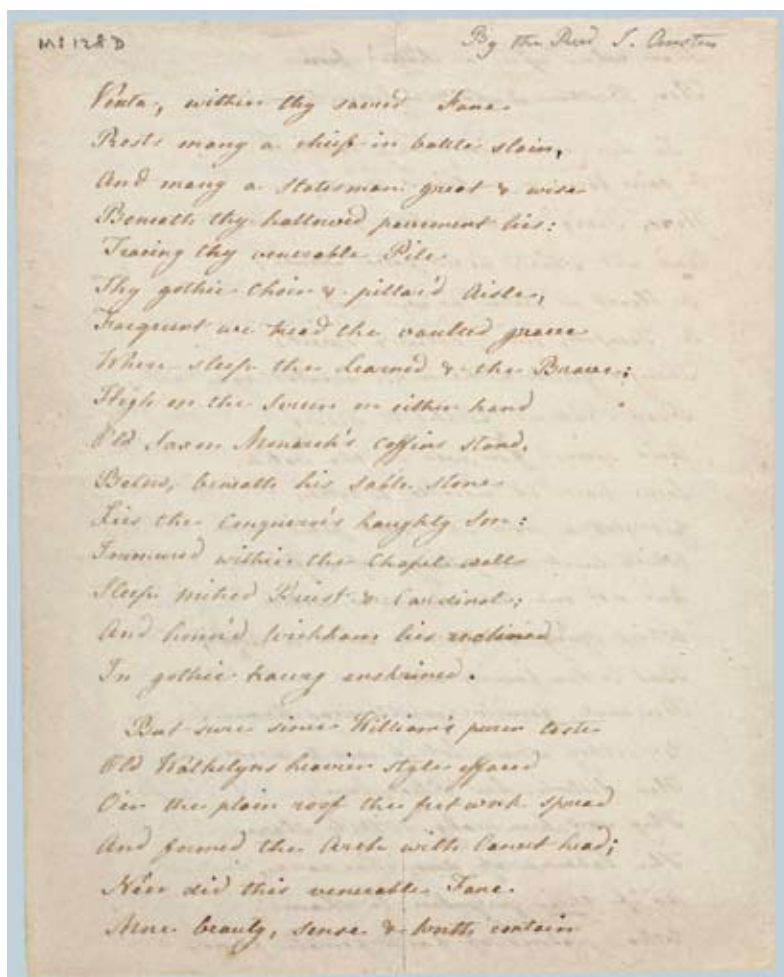
No. 22 (c) in Chapman's list (1926).



MS 128C: James Austen, 'Venta! within thy sacred fane', copied by James Edward Austen.

2 leaves, originally a bifolium, now separated (each 33 cm x 20.5 cm), watermarked with a figure of Britannia and 'FOOLSCAP / 1815 / W'.

No. 22 (a) in Chapman's list (1926).



MS 128D: James Austen 'Venta! within thy sacred fane',
autograph manuscript, 1817.

2 leaves (23 cm x 18 cm), watermarked 'SIMMONS / 1816'.
No. 22 (b) in Chapman's list (1926).

James Austen's poem 'Venta' was written soon after Jane Austen's death and commemorates her burial in Winchester Cathedral. Two manuscripts are at Winchester College, one (MS 128D) in the author's hand and the other (MS 128C) in the hand of his son, James Edward Austen (later Austen-Leigh). James's manuscript is dated 1817 and James Edward's copy was probably made soon afterwards as the paper is watermarked 1815 and it is written in his 'teenage hand'.³² Later copies of the poem are among the Austen-Leigh MSS at Hampshire Record Office and at Isel Hall in Cumbria.

The existence of several Austen family copies of this poem, in different hands, has been the source of some confusion. The text has been printed on three occasions: the first using MS 128D as the copy-text and the other two editions using MS 128C.³³ David Selwyn described a manuscript at Winchester as the only known example of a poem by James Austen in the author's hand, but he appears to have mistaken James Edward's copy (MS 128C) for the autograph MS.³⁴ The misidentification is of some significance in view of the differences between the two manuscripts. Aside from numerous discrepancies in spelling and punctuation, there are six substantial variant readings.³⁵ Selwyn's two editions of the poem note some of these variants, but not all.³⁶ In every case, the version of the poem preserved in the autograph manuscript (MS 128D) appears superior to the alternative in Selwyn's copy-text (MS 128C). In James Edward's later copy of the poem all readings (except in line 40) follow the autograph MS.³⁷

Appendix 2: Catalogue of Early Editions of Jane Austen's Novels at Winchester College

Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 3 vols (London, 1813).

Bound in nineteenth-century three-quarter calf over marbled boards, rebacked. The second edition, inscribed: 'Bashed Glasgow' on the title page of each volume.

Jane Austen, *Emma*, 3 vols (London, 1816).

Bound in nineteenth-century three-quarter calf over marbled boards, rebacked. The first edition, inscribed: 'Bashed Glasgow' on the title page of each volume.

Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey: and Persuasion*, 4 vols (London, 1818).

Bound in early nineteenth-century half calf over original blue paper-covered boards, rebacked preserving early brown leather spines. The first edition, with ink stamps of the Hereford Permanent Library on the verso of each title page. The library was established in Hereford in 1815, readers paying an annual subscription of £1 10s.

Notes

1. I am very grateful to Hazel Jones, Kathryn Sutherland and Emma Clery for their advice on this article, and to Suzanne Foster, Winchester College Archivist, for her help with various documents.
2. Clifford Wyndham Holgate (ed.), *Winchester Long Rolls, 1723-1812*. Winchester, 1904.
3. Hazel Jones, *The Other Knight Boys: Jane Austen's Dispossessed Nephews*. Crediton, 2020, pp.8-9.
4. R.A. Austen-Leigh (ed.), *Austen Papers, 1704-1856*. Colchester, 1942, pp.260-61.
5. William Lily, *A Short Introduction of Grammar*. London, 1805.
6. Austen-Leigh, *Austen Papers*, p.329.

7. Hampshire Record Office 23M93/86/5/2.
8. Hampshire Record Office 23M93/86/5/1.
9. Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition. Oxford, 2011, p.125.
10. *Ibid.*, pp.144, 224.
11. *Ibid.*, p.330.
12. *Ibid.*, p.336-337.
13. *Ibid.*, p.358.
14. Winchester College Muniments (hereafter WCM) M/33/116.
15. WCM L/9/29; <https://literarywinchester.org.uk/authors/jane-austen>.
16. Le Faye, *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp.357-358.
17. The brick pillars at the entrance to the garden are not original, but were constructed in the early twentieth century.
18. James Edward Austen, *A Memoir of Jane Austen*. London, 1870, p.223.
19. The account that follows is based on a notebook (WCM N/5/49) containing transcriptions of original documents relating to properties on College Street, compiled in the 1930s by Herbert Chitty, Keeper of the Archives.
20. WCM N/5/21.
21. The present plaque was installed in 1956 (see Frederick Bussby, *Jane Austen in Winchester*. Winchester, 1973, p.2).
22. WCM L/9/29. It is sometimes wrongly stated that the plaque was placed there by T.F. Kirby, the College Bursar.
23. WCM L/9/29.
24. WCM N/5/58.
25. R.W. Chapman, 'A Jane Austen Collection', *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 1252 (14 January, 1926), p.27.
26. Joanna Baillie (ed.), *A Collection of Poems, chiefly manuscript, and from living authors*. London, 1823, p.72.
27. Catherine Maria Fanshawe, *Memorials of Miss Catherine Maria Fanshawe*. London, 1865, p.44; Catherine Maria Fanshawe, *The Literary Remains of Catherine Maria Fanshawe*. London, 1876, pp.61-62.
28. Line 4: But (printed editions: And); 10: Yet (But); 13: United I'm a (1823: My tout's a sort of; 1866/1876: My whole's a sort of); 16: when (while); 17: Begins (Prepares); 19: starts (climbs).
29. David Gilson, 'Jane Austen's Verses', *The Book Collector*, no. 33 (Spring 1984), p.37.
30. David Gilson, 'Jane Austen's Verses: additions and a correction', *Book Collector*, no. 34 (Autumn 1985), p.385.
31. British Library, Add. MS. 59874, f. 34r.
32. I am grateful to Kathryn Sutherland (private communication) for this identification.
33. George Holbert Tucker, *A Goodly Heritage: a history of Jane Austen's Family*. Manchester, 1983, pp.112-14; David Selwyn (ed.), *The Poetry of Jane Austen and the Austen Family*. Iowa City, 1997, pp.48-50; David Selwyn (ed.), *The*

Complete Poems of James Austen. Chawton, 2003, pp.86-88.

34. David Selwyn, *Poems of James Austen*, frontispiece and pp.vii, 141. Selwyn suggested that MS 128D was possibly in the hand of Henry Thomas Austen.
35. Line 13, the autograph MS (128D) has 'Chapel', where MS 128C (Selwyn's editions) reads 'Chapels'; 37: a (one); 40: sweet, genuine (real & genuine); 48: misplaced (displaced); 40: art we (art! we); 74: Eternal (attendant).
36. Selwyn, *Poetry of Jane Austen*, p.74; Selwyn, *Poems of James Austen*, p.141. Three variant readings noted by Selwyn (11: his/this; 32: descy/esp; 33: ever omitted) do not appear in the manuscripts themselves, and are presumably the result of errors in transcription.
37. Hampshire Record Office 23M93/60/3/2. I have not examined the manuscript at Isel Hall.

Cassandra and the Art of Copying

Janine Barchas

In *Sense and Sensibility*, at the London home of Mrs Jennings, Colonel Brandon finds the eldest Dashwood sister closely examining a print that she intends to copy for a friend:

... on Elinor's moving to the window to take more expeditiously the dimensions of a print, which she was going to copy for her friend, he followed her to it with a look of particular meaning . . . (Vol. III, Ch. 3)

The reader learns nothing further about the print or the unnamed friend destined to receive Elinor's copy. Although this moment retreats quickly into Austen's quiet realism, it likely reflects the practices and artistic habits of the author's own older sister, Cassandra Elizabeth Austen.

As R.W. Chapman observed about the Austen family, 'Cassandra and her drawing were not less interesting in their eyes than Jane and her writing'.¹ Of Cassandra's surviving artworks the most familiar to scholars and fans are her family portraits, especially the controversial 'scratch' of her sister Jane that served as the source for the prettified Victorian-era engraving that found its way into reprintings of her novels and, more recently, onto the ten pound note. Cassandra's non-portraits, some of which survive as watercolours and sketches, have garnered less notice. It may therefore surprise even the most avid Janeite that at least nine of Cassandra's known artworks are meticulous copies of popular prints. These survivors show that when Cassandra copied a print, whether a small detail or an entire composition, she did so with unflinching fidelity. These works do not riff on her sources to make a new composition out of an old, but instead are more like faithful facsimiles. Cassandra's prowess at copy-work was a form of mastery that was highly prized in the age before the photograph. In irreverent modern terms, Cassandra was a human Xerox machine.

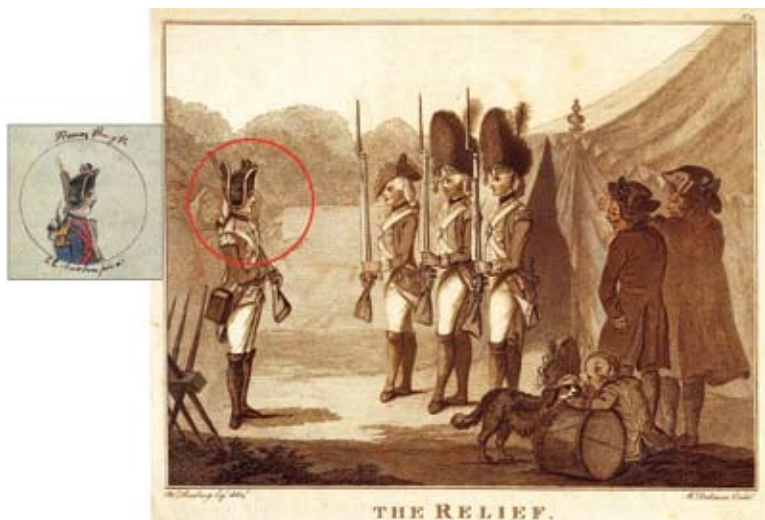
However, Romanticism's strong push for imagination downgraded this skill. As a result, Cassandra's artistic fidelity has enjoyed a cursed legacy. Her lifetime coincided with a seismic shift away from mimesis in art. Born in 1773, Cassandra learned to draw during the heyday of publications like *The Copper Plate Magazine, or Monthly Treasure for the Admirers of the Imitative Arts*.² In 1785, when Cassandra was twelve, she took instruction in drawing, along with little sister Jane, from the young watercolourist John Claude Nattes.³ Such instruction focused on faithfully copying art and nature. But by the time Nattes died in 1839, only invention qualified as true art and museums had demoted his watercolours to map rooms, along with the printed views of many landscape artists, because they were too faithful – recordings rather than artworks.⁴ Over the

course of Cassandra's long life (she died in 1845, aged seventy-two), full-blown Romanticism conspired with photography to demean all so-called 'Imitative Arts'. This overarching aesthetic prejudice explains why Cassandra's imitative art has received relatively little attention and, occasionally, has even been misidentified, as I will show.

Below, I walk through Cassandra's known copyist work in a probable chronological order. The surviving nine examples of her work show how she faithfully copied prints as a teenager and continued this practice well into her sixties – a lifelong habit. Indeed, the examples show that she refined and improved her technique over time. Not only do these copies modestly enlarge the inventory of print materials to which the Austen sisters had access, but by alerting the wider Janeite community to Cassandra's habit, I hope additional examples of her copies of prints might come to light.

1792.

Cassandra was nineteen when she supplied the ten heads of kings and queens for sister Jane's *The History of England*. At least two of those illustrations have proved to be details lifted from popular prints. The soldier-turned-Henry-V can be spotted in *The Relief* (1781) by Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811), a popular artist whom Horace Walpole memorably described as 'a second Hogarth'.⁵ Similarly, her Edward IV is copied from a companion print in that same Bunbury series, which is titled *Recruits* (1780). As long ago as 2008, Adrienne Bradney-Smith first reported in this same periodical that these two figures were sourced from Bunbury's prints.⁶



On left, Cassandra's 'Henry the 5th' from The History of England (1792); MS 59874 in British Library. On right, Henry W. Bunbury, The Relief (1781); J,6.48 in British Museum.



On left, Cassandra's 'Edward the 4th' from The History of England (1792); MS 59874 in British Library. On right, Henry W. Bunbury, Recruits (1780); J,6.47 in British Museum.

The History of England manuscript, a fair copy executed in 1792 to which the portraits were presumably added last, reveals something more about Cassandra's method. The circles around her portraits were made by drawing neatly around a coin in thin graphite.⁷ However, Cassandra did not trace images into the fair copy manuscript, because the soldier in the original Bunbury print measures significantly larger than her hand-drawn copy.⁸ To fit him into her roundel, Cassandra slightly shrunk the contemporary-soldier-turned-Henry-V. At nineteen, Cassandra was already 'an adept copyist' for digital imposition reveals that the head she copies from *Recruits*, also drawn in freehand, is an even neater match to his own Bunbury twin.⁹ With a mock formality, Cassandra signs each of her tiny ten portraits 'C E Austen pinx' – not unlike sister Jane's authorly tone in the manuscript.

In spite of this evidence of copy-work, scholars have continued to push hard for originality when suggesting that Cassandra's illustrations in *The History of England* reflect the faces of family members sketched 'from life' – including family members named Henry and Edward.¹⁰ This feels like a Victorian-inflected attempt to rescue some measure of approved artistry, especially when these two documented examples lack evidence of facial customization. Instead, if two of the ten royals are so faithfully copied by Cassandra after ordinary persons in

popular prints, it seems likely that the other eight miniatures in the manuscript are sourced from prints too – and that the mundane sources behind these mock royals are part of the fun of the combined satirical efforts of the sister artists. By showing how dominant this approach was for Cassandra, I hope I can spur others to at least look for those additional eight needles in the haystacks of popular prints.¹¹

1804.

On 28 November 1972, Sotheby's of London sold two watercolours that were identified at auction as copies by Cassandra Austen of two popular prints after George Morland, namely 'Alehouse Kitchen' and 'Alehouse Door', prints originally published in 1801.



*Print after George Morland,
'Alehouse Kitchen' (1801);
1873,0510.2628 in British Museum.*



*Print after George Morland,
'Alehouse Door' (1801);
1859,0709.776 in British Museum.*

Both of the auctioned watercolours by Cassandra were initialled and dated: 'C.E.A. 1804'.¹² That year, the Austens remained in Bath, where Cassandra turned twenty-nine, and Jane had just sold her first manuscript. That manuscript, in which a little boy by the name of George Morland makes a cameo appearance beside a cottage door, was eventually published as *Northanger Abbey*.¹³ The sisters might still have been working side by side, one writing and the other drawing.

A buyer named W.O. Rosedale paid £35 for the pair. No photographs are known to have been taken at the 1972 sale, but Sotheby's unillustrated catalogue entry expressly identifies Morland's plates as the sources of Cassandra's designs. With the assistance of Sotheby's New York office, I was able to reach the buyer's grandson, who kindly canvassed the whole family – to no avail. Sadly, the two watercolour copies by Cassandra are now lost. I urge readers to keep an eye out,

since at least one of her meticulous copies has, we shall see, been mistaken for a colourized print.

What these Morlands have in common with the earlier Bunburys is what Vic Gatrell terms the dominant ‘manliness of satirical prints’.¹⁴ Practically speaking, these must have been the types of prints that, in a house full of Austen men – plus occasional pupils and university friends – might be on hand. A smoking swain, ale-drinking men outside a tavern, and aspects of soldiering are surprising subjects for a young lady artist to copy. Perhaps that was Cassandra’s defiant point. In parallel with her sister Jane’s rebellious juvenilia and epistolary satire *Lady Susan*, young Cassandra pushed the boundaries of acceptable subjects for lady artists.

1808.

Copying was not just a mark of friendship and artistic cooperation but, during strained economic circumstances, a domestic form of decoration. Two of Cassandra’s surviving copies from prints date to early 1808, when the Austen women had built a household with Frank’s wife, Mary Gibson, in rented accommodation in Southampton.

The cottage museum that is Jane Austen’s House now safeguards a watercolour, dated to 1808, by Cassandra that is a faithful copy of a stipple engraving by Peltro William Tomkins (originally published in 1792), which in turn reproduced a pastel by royal portraitist John Russell.¹⁵



On left, watercolour entitled ‘MARIA’ by Cassandra E. Austen, signed ‘C. E. A. 1808’, JAH 183. Image reproduced courtesy of Jane Austen’s House, Chawton.

On right, engraving entitled ‘Maria’ by Peltro William Tomkins, after John Russell (1792); 1872,0511.291 in British Museum.

The published stipple engraving – which survives in black or brown monochrome as well as in a hand-coloured format – is entitled ‘Maria’ and shows the famous character from Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey* (1768) with her little dog Silvio and a flute.¹⁶ The heartbroken Maria, usually depicted sitting with her dog and instrument under a tree, was a ubiquitous sentimental subject, with versions manufactured as Jasperware by Wedgwood, as Staffordshire figurines by other pottery makers, and as popular prints after a range of visual artists from Angelica Kauffmann to Joseph Wright of Derby. The dog and prop in Cassandra’s image, therefore, are just as recognizable a reference to Sterne’s story as the direct quotation by the fictional namesake Maria Bertram in *Mansfield Park* (‘I cannot get out, as the starling said’). The work of both sisters familiarly references Sterne.

Cassandra was so accurate in her copying of the Tomkins engraving that her precision and choice of muted colours fooled one historian into denouncing it as a mere colour-washing of a bought monochrome print: ‘the professional finish of this picture makes it immediately suspect.’ Faint praise concluded the de-attribution: ‘The talented amateur responsible for this watercolour was not, I think, capable of executing a *copy* which corresponds with the print so exactly.’¹⁷

Ironically, the very fidelity of Cassandra’s duplication thus misled her sister’s cognoscenti. Four tiny needle pricks at the corners of the inner line rule around the figure, as well as bigger pin holes towards the outer edges of the paper, allow that Cassandra might have achieved such accuracy by partly tracing an original print. Or perhaps she used a grid method. Whatever her meticulous approach, thirty-five-year-old Cassandra must have been in temporary possession of an exemplar of the published print to render it so exactly. Upon close inspection, watercolour and engraving are not a perfect match. The watery edges of some lines also protest the idea that this ‘Maria’ is a tinted exemplar of a stipple engraving. Cassandra’s paper retains substantial margins but lacks a plate mark, with no evidence of cutting or pasting. Some of Cassandra’s border lines extend at the corners and the placement of her title’s letters do not match precisely any of the known versions of the published print. In neatly signing the work ‘C.E.A. 1808’ in the bottom left corner, Cassandra did not lay claim to the original design but, just like the engraver Tomkins whose name is on the published plate, to her transfer of the image.

Perhaps *trompe-l’oeil* was the intent. Dated to the lean Southampton year of 1808, this artwork is now sun-bleached from having been displayed and acid-bitten by a former frame (which does not survive). Cassandra’s ‘Maria’ may have been, like Elinor’s copy, intended as a gift for a friend who displayed the lookalike as if a print. There were several Austen family members with names derived from Maria, and the picture’s provenance can be traced back to Mary Jane, the daughter born in 1807 to Frank Austen and Mary Gibson at Southampton.¹⁸ Cassandra, who would have been present at the birth of baby Mary Jane, may have made the drawing as a baby gift. The surviving label (from the back of the now-lost frame) states that the family always knew it to be a ‘Water color [so spelled] Drawing / Sterne’s “Maria”/ by Miss C. E. Austen/ Sister of the Authoress’.¹⁹

Another signed watercolour by Cassandra, also dated 1808, came to scholarly light in 1993, when it was sold at a Berkshire auction. Its provenance can be traced back to Rear-Admiral Charles Austen.²⁰ Bibliographer David Gilson, who purchased and safeguarded the item, initially celebrated the find as ‘probably an imaginary scene’, although Adrienne Bradney-Smith set the record straight in 2008, showing that it was yet another copy of a Morland print.²¹ In this case, Cassandra copied Morland’s *Pedlars* (1790).



On left, Cassandra’s watercolour of peasants in a landscape, dated 1808; item 2022.3 in Holburne Museum, Bath. On right, engraving titled ‘Pedlars’ after George Morland; 1859,0709.763 in British Museum.

Frustratingly, the fact that her composition was copied was interpreted as a further indictment of Cassandra’s ‘limited artistic talent’.²² I was able to examine Cassandra’s watercolour at the Holburne Museum in Bath, where it now resides.²³ A visual comparison with the Morland print readily confirms that she copied the print in freehand rather than by tracing – although, like Elinor, she may have taken the dimensions of the print and marked key locations in the composition. At 8 x 11 inches, Cassandra’s version of *Pedlars* is the largest of her known copies, which may explain the marked drift from the original print, which again roughly matches the image in size.²⁴

1834, or thereabouts.

Two further copies by Cassandra of other prints remain with descendants of Charles Austen. These works came to my attention when the current owners, Jenny and Brian Willan, approached me after I presented a slideshow about Cassandra’s above copies at the Jane Austen Society’s Southwest Branch in Exeter in January 2024. ‘We think,’ the couple gently offered, ‘that we might have two more of what you are looking for.’²⁵ Indeed! The first of their pictures by Cassandra is an undated pencil sketch of a hunting scene captioned ‘Luring the Hawk / Reidinger’ and signed ‘C. E. Austen’.



On left, Cassandra's sketch captioned 'Luring the Hawk'. Photo courtesy of Brian Willan. On right, from The Penny Magazine, No.164 (October 25, 1834). Author photo.

In this instance, Cassandra copied an old engraving that had been included in various sporting dictionaries as an illustration of how to hunt with hawks, thus allowing for multiple possible source texts. But by including the name of the original artist in an unusual spelling, Cassandra may have provided a clue to her specific source.

In 1834, *The Penny Magazine* printed this same image, identifying it as 'From Reidinger' – thus using the same unusual spelling for the surname of famous German animal painter and engraver Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767).²⁶ In other reproductions his name can be either missing from the images or spelled differently. In my own dating of her image, I therefore assume *The Penny Magazine* to be Cassandra's likely source. The size of the illustration in the magazine, too, is a good match for her own facsimile. As for context, *The Penny Magazine*'s article on hawking extended over several issues, describing a fifteenth-century book about the practice by a female author. It explained that the keeping of hawks had followed a strict social protocol – with certain species of hunting birds reserved for the king, others for princes and priests: 'And so it continues down to the sparrow-hawk for a priest, a musket for a holy-water clerk, and (last of all) a kestrel for a knave or servant.' The article contains two scenes after Ridinger, not just 'Luring the Hawk' but also 'Casting-off the Hawk'. Both images are captioned 'From Reidinger' and the article refers to details in 'our engravings' as faithful to the practice because 'so correct a delineator as Reidinger

was not likely to make a mistake'.²⁷ If Cassandra copied her subject from the 1834 illustrations in *The Penny Magazine*, perhaps for a niece or nephew, she would have been in her sixties.

The second Willan-owned picture is a striking watercolour of a woman in a historical costume, also signed 'C. E. Austen' but captioned 'England, 1450. / Reign of Henry VI.'



On left, Cassandra's undated watercolour of a lady in a historical costume. Photo by Lucy Bond. Reproduced with permission from Brian Willan. On right, unsourced nineteenth-century print from Bridgeman Images digital archive.

As the caption hints, this watercolour also copies a print – in this case one from which today's internet customers can have anything from a puzzle to a poster made via one of several image storehouses.²⁸ Unfortunately, however, these commercial sites were unable to provide me with metadata about their images and I have yet to trace the original source. Cassandra's caption suggests she took the image from a series of historical costumes, while the style resembles that of André Leon Larue, known as Mansion (1785-1834). Mansion worked in England as a book illustrator for Ackermann and others, producing high-end costume books.²⁹ Although I am treating the Willan-owned drawings together, they are unrelated in subject and Cassandra's costume drawing may well have been made before 1834.

1836, or a little later.

Finally, there exists another small pencil drawing by Cassandra, roughly the size and stiffness of a modern postcard, that has been on loan to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust since 2003 from a distant relative of Admiral Francis Austen.³⁰ The sketch of boats on choppy harbour waters is inscribed on the inside right corner 'C.E. Austen'. Underneath, a centred caption reads 'The Bourse and part of the

Fortress from the Neva St Petersburg'. The provenance suggests that Cassandra sketched this maritime subject for her sailor brother Frank, or a member of his family. Now badly foxed, the sketch is undated, and hitherto unsourced.

Despite Cassandra's spelling variation, the image and caption match one of the twenty-five plates in Leitch Ritchie's account *A Journey to St. Petersburg and Moscow through Courland and Livonia*, which in 1836 was offered as *Heath's Picturesque Annual*.³¹ Even the size of the book illustration, which measures about 5¾ inches, matches Cassandra's neat facsimile – as if, like Elinor, she took the precise dimensions of the print before sitting down to copy it.



On left, Cassandra's pencil drawing captioned 'The Bourse and part of the Fortress from the Neva St Petersburg', inscribed 'C.E. Austen'. Image reproduced courtesy of Jane Austen's House, Chawton. On right, illustration from Leitch Ritchie's account A Journey to St. Petersburg and Moscow through Courland and Livonia, as it appears in Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1836. Author photo.

The plates were expressly commissioned in 1835. This suggests Cassandra continued to copy from engravings, whether loose or as illustrations in books and magazines, throughout her long life. It is a poignant coincidence that what survives of Cassandra's modest artistic inventory ends with a naval subject, echoing her sister's final novel, *Persuasion*.

As the above inventory already suggests, Cassandra enjoyed wide access to popular prints. When, in 1801, Jane writes to Cassandra of scouting houses for their impending move to the city of Bath, she mentions how her sister's 'own drawings' will come with them. She adds: 'My Mother says that the French agricultural Prints in the best bedroom were given by Edward to his two Sisters. Do you or he know anything about it?'³² Jane's details suggest that even the Steventon rectory was meaningfully, if sparsely, decorated with modest artworks – some home-grown and some gifted prints. While in Bath, Jane writes of a town visit to the Holders, and how she and Miss Holder 'adjourned after tea into the inner Drawingroom to look over Prints & talk pathetically'.³³ During visits to their brother's family in Kent, the sisters would have been surrounded by the types of materials that Mr Knightley lays out for Mr Woodhouse at Donwell

Abbey in preparation for the strawberry picking: ‘Books of engravings, drawers of medals, cameos, corals, shells, and every other family collection within his cabinets.’ By the time Frank Churchill joins the party, everyone is inside with Mr Woodhouse and these treasures, discussing ‘some views of St. Mark’s Place, Venice’. Both sisters socialized frequently at The Vyne, the ancestral home of the Chute family in Sherborne St John, which boasted an extensive collection of historical prints. In 1817, the new generation of Chutes cut up many of the views of foreign locales found in that collection in order to paper the walls of a room.³⁴ Values were shifting, and old prints were being repurposed in ways that reflected the new generation’s sinking attitudes towards imitative art.

The year 2023 quietly marked the 250th anniversary of the birth of Cassandra Elizabeth Austen. It seems a fitting time to reassess her work as an artist.

Notes

1. R.W. Chapman, *Facts and Problems*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948; repr. 1970, p.17.
2. For more information on this ambitious magazine, which launched in 1774, see Ann V. Gunn, *The Prints of Paul Sandby (1731-1809): A Catalogue Raisonné*. London: Harvey Miller, 2016, esp. pp.63-65.
3. See Deirdre Le Faye, *Family Record*. Cambridge University Press, 2004, p.50, and David Nokes, *Jane Austen: A Life*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1997, p.82. Le Faye records a payment by Revd Austen for a whopping £11 9s, presumably for drawing lessons to all the children and pupils at the Steventon rectory. See also the entry by Aidan Flood for ‘John Claude Nattes (c. 1765-1839), topographical draughtsman and watercolour artist’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
4. See John Barrell ‘Topography v. Landscape’, review of *Paul Sandby: Picturing Britain*, Royal Academy in *London Review of Books*, Vol. 32, No. 9 (13 May 2010), pp.9-12.
5. Alice Loxton, *Upoar!: Satire, Scandal & Printmakers in Georgian London*. London: Icon Books, 2004, p.33.
6. Adrienne Bradney-Smith, ‘Art and the Austen family’, in *Jane Austen Society Report for 2008*. Alton, Hampshire, 2008, pp.129-144.
7. Bradney-Smith identifies a half-crown as the likeliest candidate. The old half crowns were 3.3cm in diameter, matching her circles.
8. I am grateful to Sarah Boada-Momtahan, owner of the Sanders of Oxford printshop, for allowing me to take measurements of her copy of Bunbury’s *The Relief*.
9. *Report for 2008*, p.131.
10. Annette Upfal, ‘Introduction’, in Jane Austen’s *The History of England*, eds. Annette Upfal and Christine Alexander. Sydney, AU: Juvenilia Press, 2009, p.xxviii. Admittedly, it is probable that Upfal’s introduction went to press before Bradney-Smith’s findings were released in the 2008 *JAS Report*.

11. For an example of such a search, see Annette Upfal, 'A Taste for Cruel Humour: Jane Austen's *The History of England* and James Gilray's Bawdy Caricature of Charles James Fox' in *Home and Away: The Place of the Child Writer*, eds. David Owen and Lesley Peterson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp.217-237. While I accept that the Austen family, including Jane and Cassandra, enjoyed humour considered coarse by Victorian standards, I do not find Upfal's visual evidence of similarity compelling enough to identify the 'source' for Cassandra's image of Henry VIII.
12. Sotheby's sales catalogue for Tuesday, 28 November 1972, describes lot 316 thus: 'AUSTEN (CASSANDRA ELIZABETH, sister of Jane Austen) Two water-colour drawings by her (after designs by George Morland), each signed and dated 'C.E.A. 1804', size of each sheet approx. 14½ in. by 11 in., each mounted on contemporary card. These watercolours are based on a pair of designs by George Morland which were engraved by R. S. Syer and published in 1801 with the titles *The Alehouse Door* and *The Alehouse Kitchen*', p.67.
13. For a fuller account of Jane Austen's habit of referencing visual artists in her fictions, including Morland and Reynolds, see: Janine Barchas, 'Artistic Names in Austen's Fiction: Cameo Appearances by Prominent Painters', *Persuasions* 31, 2009, pp.145-162.
14. Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London*. New York: Walker & Co., 2006, p.111.
15. The watercolour by Cassandra (museum number JAH183) was donated to the Jane Austen Memorial Trust in 1953 by Mrs M. Purvis, the widow of a great-grandson of Admiral Sir Francis Austen.
16. The British Museum holds three such versions of the same 'Maria' print: 1872,0511.291; 1940,1109.60; and 1940,1109.111.
17. David Gilson, 'Cassandra Austen's Pictures', in *Jane Austen Society Report for 1993*, pp.17-19, at 19.
18. Gilson recounts how the artwork came to the museum's Mr Carpenter from a Mrs Purvis, 'and so necessarily comes from Cassandra's brother Admiral Francis William Austen (1774-1865), by way of his daughter Mary Jane (1807-36), who married George Purvis, RN'. 'Pictures', p.17.
19. This label accompanied the watercolour when it was donated to the museum in 1953.
20. See Gilson, 'Pictures', p.17, for an account of the sale and its provenance back to Rear Admiral Charles John Austen (1779-1852).
21. *Ibid.*, p.17.
22. Bradney-Smith, 'Art,' p.135.
23. The Holburne Museum's collections record the work as 'Peasants in a landscape by Cassandra Elizabeth Austen, 1808' (museum number 2022.3).
24. Unlike the other survivors, this copy by Cassandra stretches to the very edges of the paper, allowing that the paper (and possible caption) may have been trimmed.
25. Brian Willan is descended from Charles Austen and inherited the two

Cassandra drawings from his father, who died in 2018.

26. See *The Penny Magazine*, number 164, 25 October 1834, pp.410-13.
27. The extract in *The Penny Magazine* contains the two illustrations on pages 412 and 413, respectively. As it happens, Brian Willan remembers there being a second hawk image in the family but sadly, after making further enquiries, this has not turned up.
28. The caption information led, for example, to a version on both the Mary Evans Picture Library and Bridgeman Images websites.
29. A French artist, Mansion, worked closely with Ackermann and was known for his images of costumes, including *Letters upon the Art of Miniature Painting* (1823), *Fancy Ball Dress* (1831-32), *Costumes of the Royal Navy & Marines* (1831-33), and *Officers of the British Army* (1833-36).
30. Jane Austen's House museum number JAH 334.
31. The 1836 annual, published in London by Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, inserts an uncoloured and uncaptioned version of the engraving between pages 118 and 119. I think the version in the annual is Cassandra's likeliest source.
32. Deirdre Le Faye, (ed.) *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition. Oxford University Press, 2011, p.70. Jane Austen to Cassandra Austen, dated 5 January 1801.
33. *Ibid.*, p.94. Jane Austen to Cassandra Austen, 26-27 May 1801.
34. The National Trust posted on Facebook on 2 July 2015: 'The Print Room at The Vyne was created by Caroline Workman and her brothers in 1817 from historic prints that had been in a portfolio in the Oak Gallery.'

How wealthy were James and Jane Leigh Perrot?

John Avery Jones

We can gain a picture of the wealth of Mr and Mrs Leigh Perrot by combining the legacy duty records in the National Archives for the Leigh Perrots and James Austen.¹ Unfortunately since legacy duty applied only to personal property it does not enable us to include the value of real (landed) property. Mr Leigh Perrot had inherited the Northleigh estate at the age of fifteen in 1751 from Thomas Perrot and added 'Perrot' to his name. He subsequently sold that estate and in 1764 or 1765 purchased Scarlets at Wargrave, Berkshire which remained in the ownership of Mr and then Mrs Leigh Perrot and was inherited by James Edward Austen who was required by her will to add the name Leigh, a strange requirement as the value of Scarlets derived from the Perrot inheritance.² Eventually he leased it in 1853 and then sold it in 1863.

Mr James Leigh Perrot died on 28 March 1817 at the age of eighty-one³ leaving his houses and contents, land, carriages, horses and money at the bank plus £10,000 to Mrs Leigh Perrot outright, and the residue, mainly comprising his investments, to her for life with remainder to James Austen.⁴ This was to the consternation of the Austen family, who had expected some immediate benefit on his death. Jane Austen experienced more than concern – her fragile health suffered as a consequence, as she reported in a letter dated 6 April 1817: 'I am ashamed to say that the shock of my Uncle's Will brought on a relapse.' The Austen family may have been naïve in thinking that they would have priority over Mrs Leigh Perrot, given her husband's statement that he would have sold up and gone to Australia if she had been found guilty of shoplifting and deported.⁵ Yet leaving real property to Mrs Leigh Perrot outright rather than for life and postponing payment of his pecuniary legacies until her death were both unusual.

Even the pecuniary legacies in Mr Leigh Perrot's will of £6,000 divided between Edward, Henry, Frank, Cassandra and Jane Austen were not payable until Mrs Leigh Perrot's death and then only if they survived her (which only Jane did not). James had died on 13 December 1819, and the residue of Mr Leigh Perrot's estate therefore devolved under James's will. Mrs Leigh Perrot lived for a further nineteen years to the age of ninety-two, dying on 13 November 1836. She left considerable legacies to her family and the residue to James Edward Austen-Leigh.

Fortunately for us, James's will made a distinction between his own assets and those inherited from Mr Leigh Perrot. As a result we can use legacy duty records to determine the value of the estates of Mr and Mrs Leigh Perrot by incorporating James's legatees into Mr Leigh Perrot's will and adding Mrs Leigh Perrot's estate and also her lifetime gifts. Since the duty relates to different estates it was payable both on the receipt of Mr Leigh Perrot's estate by James's estate and then again by his beneficiaries. Because Mr Leigh Perrot's estate was distributed in 1837 to

James's beneficiaries following Mrs Leigh Perrot's death, we are dealing with values for both Mr and Mrs Leigh Perrot's estates at the same date; and Mrs Leigh Perrot's lifetime gifts made in 1827 and 1833 were not so long before her death that the value of money had changed significantly.

The legacy duty records that I have used are the internal ones of the legacy duty office. The Legacy Duty Accounts (the tax return) submitted by the executors, which would list the assets and liabilities, have not survived. These records contain particulars completed at different times. For example, Mr Leigh Perrot's record would have started following his death in 1817 and been completed with the distributions made in 1837 after his wife's death. The only deficiency from our point of view is that, as mentioned, legacy duty was charged only on personal property, not land, and so on Mr Leigh Perrot's death the values of Scarlets and 49 Pulteney Street, Bath were excluded. However, since the latter was sold in October 1817,⁶ the values at the time of Mrs Leigh Perrot's death therefore include the proceeds. Accordingly only the (unknown) value of Scarlets is excluded from these figures.⁷

Legatees	Mr LP's and James Austen's wills combined				Mrs LP's	
	Legacy duty				lifetime gifts ⁸	
	Amount £	Rate		Net £	Amount £	
	<i>Mr LP</i>	<i>James</i>	Amount			
Henry	1,200	100	3	39	1,261	1,000 ⁹
Frank	1,200	100	3	39	1,261	15,462 ¹⁰
Charles	1,200	100	3	39	1,261	4,000 ¹¹
Cassandra	1,200	100	3	39	1,261	5,000 ¹²
Edward Knight	1,200	50	3	38	1,213	2,000 ¹³
Duty on James's residuary legacy ¹⁴			3	1,531		
Martha Lloyd		50	10	5	45	
Eliza Fowle		50	10	5	45	
Mary (James's wife) ¹⁵		2000	0	0	2000	
Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy ¹⁶		4,000	1	10	3,990	1,000 ¹⁷
Caroline Mary Craven Austen at 21 or earlier marriage ¹⁸		7,000	1	40	6,960	1,000 ¹⁹
James Edward Austen Leigh's reversion to Mary's life interest in £14,000		8,000	1	96 ²⁰	7,904	
James Edward Austen Leigh		27,247 ²¹	1	272	26,975	15,000 ²²
Plus from Mrs Leigh Perrot's estate		<i>Mrs LP</i> 17,631	10	1,763	15,868	
Subsequent recoveries from the surety payment for Henry		<u>1,135</u>			<u>1,135</u>	
Totals	6,000	<u>49,932</u>	<u>2,153</u>	<u>53,780</u>	<u>44,462</u>	
Totals		Gross	Legacy and probate duty		Net	
Total both estates to Austen family		73,563		3,916		69,648
Ditto including lifetime gifts		118,026		3,916		114,110
Non-Austen family		16,518		612		15,906
Add probate duty already deducted before the above		1,555		1,555	-	
Grand total		<u>136,098</u>		<u>6,083</u>		<u>130,015</u>

The duty at the top rate of 10% on Mrs Leigh Perrot's significant legacy to James Edward Austen, on condition he took the surname Leigh, stands out in the Table compared to the 1% rate on the legacy from his father. The rate of legacy duty varied according to the relationship between the beneficiary and the deceased. Most of the entries in the Table have rates between 1% and 3% but there are three at the top rate of 10% where there was no blood relationship. The policy is superficially attractive by encouraging the keeping of assets within the near family, as they would have wanted at the time. But there are disadvantages where, as here, the only relationship is through marriage, or there is no relationship as was normally the case with legacies to servants who suffered the top rate of tax, and surprisingly the same applied to legacies to charities.

The explanation of 'Subsequent recoveries from the surety payment for Henry' is that Mr Leigh Perrot was potentially liable as a surety for one-third²⁴ of Henry's debt to the Crown of £44,445 for taxes collected by Henry as Receiver-General of Taxes for Oxfordshire. After Mr Leigh Perrot's death his estate paid one-third of the unrecovered amount of that debt amounting to £6,655 in 1818, a significant proportion of his estate.²⁵ By the time of Mrs Leigh Perrot's death in 1836, a large part of this had been recovered from Henry's and his bank's (including the bank partners') assets reducing the amount to £1,876, with the amount already recovered therefore being included in the legacy duty figures; the whole of the balance relating to Henry was recovered within a year after her death, and the whole relating to his bank by 1841, but they would ultimately be left with £741 unrecovered which represented part of their legal costs.²⁶ This would have pleased Mrs Leigh Perrot, who had written to James much earlier, on 31 January 1819, not long after payment of the sureties' contribution by Mr Leigh Perrot's estate, that 'I better think of every thing as quite lost, & fret no more about it'.²⁷ With the benefit of hindsight, I have therefore included as an asset in the Table the £1,135 that would be recovered by 1841, as this is a genuine asset of the Leigh Perrots even though it is not included in the legacy duty figures.

Accordingly, from the Table we can deduce that the joint wealth of Mr and Mrs Leigh Perrot amounted to about £136,000 plus the value of Scarlets, of which after probate and legacy duties and expenses of administering the estates, the Austen family received by gift or inheritance about £114,000 plus the value of Scarlets. Mrs Leigh Perrot is often regarded as someone who kept members of the Austen family in line by threatening to cut them out of her will, but the Table demonstrates that she was generous to the family to the tune of over £44,000 in lifetime gifts.²⁸

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to Azar Hussain and Professors Jan Fergus, Janine Barchas and Peter Sabor for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

Notes

1. Mr Leigh Perrot TNA IR 26/719 f 329; Mrs Leigh Perrot IR 26/1439 f 780; James IR 26/809 f 90. These are available on microfilm in TNA but a more

convenient method is go to <https://www.familysearch.org/en/> then Search/catalog/keywords and enter 'death duty,' then choose eg Death duty register for wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and country courts, 1812-1857. You will need to view and download the record at a Family Search Centre which exists in major cities.

2. Le Faye, *Family Record*, 2nd ed, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp.8-9, 272. See <https://www.getreading.co.uk/news/property/gallery/jane-austens-uncle-auntie-used-21789321> for 2021 an estate agent's photographs of the house as it is currently.
3. His executors were Mrs Leigh Perrot and James Austen; after James's death his executors, Mary his widow and Edward Knight became Mr Leigh Perrot's executors by chain of executorship.
4. Mr Leigh Perrot TNA PROB 11/1591/251 (copy), PROB 10/4318 (original); Mrs Leigh Perrot PROB 11/1870/502 (copy), PROB 10/5661 (original); James PROB 11/1625/123 (copy), PROB 10/4475 (original).
5. *Family Record*, n 2, p.124.
6. Auction sale on 13 October 1817 advertised in *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 9 October 1817. I have not found a record of the sale price.
7. There were advertisements for the sale of probably small parts of land from Scarlets and other estates in *Windsor and Eton Express* on 1 and 8 September 1827, *Reading Mercury* 19 April 1830, *Berkshire Gazette* 2 October 1830 and *Reading Mercury* 26 September 1831, the last three being similar. If these led to a sale there could be some proceeds of sale in these figures.
8. All these are taken from her bank statements at Hoare's Bank. I am grateful to the archivist, Pamela Hunter, for her great assistance in allowing me to see the original bank statements and for her subsequent help. These gifts are a minimum comprising those of which I am aware and do not imply that all her bank statements over her long lifetime have been inspected. I have excluded payments of £437.2.9½ to Edward, Henry, Frank, Charles, Cassandra and James Edward totalling £2,185.14.0 on 4 August 1827 made through her bank statements as they were payments made by Mrs LP and James as trustees on the winding up of Mr and Mrs George Austen's marriage settlement of 15 March 1764 (*Austen Papers* p.334; Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. 31 July 1827; letter of 31 July 1827 from James to Mrs LP in HRO 23M93/52/1/11).
9. On 15 January 1833.
10. £300 on 10 September 1829 and £9,162.7.6 on 15 May 1830 total £9,462.10.3 with which he bought Portsdown Lodge, Portsmouth (*Family Record*, n 2, p.266 which gives the figure as £10,000; it would be £9,900 including £437.2.9½ paid as trustee, see n 7), and £6,000 on 15 January 1833.
11. On 15 January 1833.
12. On 15 January 1833.
13. On 15 January 1833.
14. There is no figure in the Table for the amount of James's legacy to avoid double

- counting because the whole amount is included under James's legatees. The amount on which legacy duty was charged was £51,028.
15. Also a life interest in £14,000 (no duty) with remainders of £3,000 each to Jane Anna Lefroy and Caroline Mary Craven Austen, and the balance to James Edward.
 16. £1,000 on Mrs LP's death and £3,000 on Mary's death. The duty figure in the Table is only on the former; see n 19 for the duty on the balance.
 17. £1,000 on 15 January 1833.
 18. £4,000 on Mrs LP's death and £3,000 on Mary's death. The duty figure in the Table is only on the former; see n 19 for the duty on the balance. In James's original will (The National Archives PROB 10/4475) the figure for the immediate legacy of £4,000 was changed twice. The original amount of the thousands (in words) is crossed out and is illegible; this was replaced by 'three' also crossed out, and then 'four'. Mary Austen provided an affidavit that the alterations were made before signature.
 19. £1,000 on 15 January 1833.
 20. The duty on the reversion to the £14,000 payable on Mary's death is on the discounted figure of £9,634, the difference being the value of her life interest. This must have been paid by agreement with the tax authority as the law did not provide for this in these circumstances.
 21. Mr LP owned £32,600 Reduced Annuities (value around the date of death £23,554 – not at the date of death as there was no quotation as the market for the stock was shut for preparation of dividends), £148 Long Annuities (value £28) and £11,324.2.9 Old South Sea Stock (value £8,578), total £32,159. The bank balance at his death was £1,277.13.6. He also owned an annuity of £2,000 pa which continued until Mrs LP's death as a result of giving up any claim to the Stoneleigh Estate (*Family Record*, see n 2, p.156); this annuity might have had a value of about £11,000 for legacy duty if it had been payable. Jane Austen said in Letter 86 of 3–6 July 1813, 'Poor Mrs LP—who would now have been Mistress of Stonleigh had there been none of that vile compromise, which in good truth has never been allowed to be of much use to them'. (Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition. Oxford University Press, 2011, p.225). Since the LPs received a capital sum of £24,000 and an annuity of £2,000 pa from 1807 until 1836, with hindsight it was not such a 'vile compromise'. I have not been able to find the identity of other assets.
 22. On 15 January 1833.
 23. Probate duty paid was: Mr LP's estate £900 (estate under £70,000), Mrs LP's £600 (estate under £45,000). The duty figures in the Table have been increased to include what the proctor (the equivalent of a solicitor in the ecclesiastical courts who had a monopoly of filing probate papers) would mark up for 'Probate under Seal and Stamp' to £931.8.2 and £623.18.2, according to C. Conyngham, *Doctors' Commons Unveiled*. London: Partridge, Oakey & Co, 1854. The probate duty on James's estate in the band £2,000 to £3,000 of £50 (or £58.14.10 with mark-up) is ignored as an unknown part (depending

on how (or whether) his reversionary interest in Mr LP's estate was valued) relates to his personal estate. Expenses of administration of the estates will have come off before the figures in the Table but, although there are items in the bank statements that might represent these, there is no reliable evidence and I have therefore not tried to quantify these. Unlike the other items in the Table, the probate duty on Mr LP's estate was paid much earlier (1817) in money of its then value.

24. By agreement with Edward Knight, the other surety.
25. Mr LP's executors sold £8,641 (nominal) out of a holding of 3% Reduced Annuities to raise £7,000 (which was in excess of their share): Hampshire Record Office 18M61 Box F/6.
26. See the writer's 'Henry Austen's Tax Debt as Receiver-General of Taxes for Oxfordshire', *Persuasions On-line* vol 43 No 1: <https://jasna.org/publications-2/persuasions-online/volume-43-no-1/avery-jones/>.
27. Hampshire Record Office 23M93/60/1/12. The letter refers to the loss being occasioned by Henry's imprudence.
28. She made gifts of income too, such as £50 pa to Mrs George Austen from 1820 (the 1820 payment was £100 presumably representing two years) until her death in 1827.

Jane Austen's Contemporaries

Azar Hussain

In the fifth volume of the Oxford edition of Austen's novels, R.W. Chapman included with his appendices three general indexes. The second of these is 'Of Real Persons (not being authors)'.¹ Here, Chapman lists eighteen real life figures who are mentioned or alluded to in the novels. Chapman's qualification is an important one, as Jane Austen of course mentions many writers such as Lord Byron, Walter Scott, James Thomson, William Cowper and Ann Radcliffe to name just a few. But if we narrow our focus further still and concentrate on those figures who were alive during Austen's lifetime and those whom she could reasonably expect her readers to recognise, this reduces the number to nine. However, there is one contemporary Chapman appears to have missed out, whose inclusion raises the number to ten. Although sometimes briefly mentioned in annotated editions, what follows aims to summarise what we know of these ten figures including new and recently unearthed material.

Philip Astley (1742 - 1814) Equestrian Performer and Circus Manager

"He [Robert Martin] delivered these papers to John, at his chambers, and was asked by him to join their party the same evening to Astley's. They were going to take the two eldest boys to Astley's. The party was to be our brother and sister, Henry, John—and Miss Smith."²

Philip Astley was born in Newcastle-under-Lyme on 8 January 1742. He was initially apprenticed as a cabinet maker, which was his father's trade, but aged seventeen, he enlisted in the army not long after the outbreak of the Seven Years War (1756-1763). Astley was noted for his good looks, impressive height, and skilful horsemanship and he served with distinction before being discharged in 1766. Two years later, he established himself as the 'English Hussar' opening a riding school at Halfpenny Hatch near Lambeth which allowed him to demonstrate various feats of trick riding with considerable showmanship. Astley's Amphitheatre was built on the south side of the river in Lambeth in 1770. This appears to have been a curious mixture of theatre and circus with an element of fairground entertainment, including acrobats and clowns. Astley was the first person to combine these various acts in one show and on this basis he has been called the father of the modern circus. The Amphitheatre burnt down in August 1794, but Astley speedily built it up again, and it was this second incarnation that Austen herself visited on 23 August 1796.

This subsequently burnt down in 1803, but yet again Astley rebuilt and opened it before Easter 1804. This third amphitheatre seated 2,000 people and presented 'hippodramas', specially written plays which heavily featured horses. However, Astley also opened a theatre accommodating 3,000 people off the Strand in 1806,

which he named the Olympic Pavilion. It was also known as Astley's, so it is unclear which of these two the Knightley family visited.³ Astley died aged seventy-two on 20 October 1814 in Paris. He had enjoyed considerable success on the Continent, setting up an amphitheatre in Paris in 1783 as well as touring Ireland in 1773. His touring would take him as far as France, Belgium and Serbia. Astley was an author too, with a number of titles to his credit, including *A Description, and Historical Account, of the Places, Now the Theatre of War in the Low Countries* (1794), *Remarks on the Profession and Duty of a Soldier* (1794) and most notably *Astley's System of Equestrian Education* (1801) which went through numerous editions. His London amphitheatre was continued by his son, John, who had worked with his father for many years. It burnt down for a third time in 1841, but it was rebuilt and referenced by both Dickens and Thackeray in their fiction. Astley's audiences were diverse, and tickets were much cheaper than those of the patent theatres. The various spectacles he staged attracted all classes which made it an entirely suitable location for Robert Martin and Harriet to renew their relationship, in the company of the Knightleys.

Joseph Bonomi (1739 - 1808) Architect

"My friend Lord Courtland came to me the other day on purpose to ask my advice, and laid before me three different plans of Bonomi's. I was to decide on the best of them. 'My dear Courtland,' said I, immediately throwing them all into the fire, 'do not adopt either of them, but by all means build a cottage.' And that, I fancy, will be the end of it."⁴

Joseph Bonomi was born on 19 January 1739 in Rome. Having trained as an architect, he came to England in 1767 at the invitation of brothers Robert and James Adam, architects and furniture designers, with Bonomi eventually setting himself up as an independent architect in 1781. In 1775, he married Rosa Florini, cousin and ward of Angelica Kauffman. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1783 and was made an associate in 1789. He died on 9 March 1808, just over three years before the publication of *Sense and Sensibility*. However, Austen certainly knew of him as he was responsible for designing three houses with which she would have been familiar.⁵

The first was Eastwell Park in East Kent, close to Godmersham, her brother Edward's estate. The owner, George Finch-Hatton (1747-1823), rebuilt the house from 1793-1799 to designs produced by Bonomi.⁶ Finch-Hatton's son, George William, (1791-1858), would be a passing love interest of Austen's niece, Fanny Knight, although curiously his third wife was Fanny's niece, Fanny Margaretta Rice (1820-1909). We know Austen visited Kent in 1796 and 1798 so she may even have seen the work in progress. She certainly visited the house as this is confirmed in a letter of 24 August 1805 which also suggests that she had perhaps been there before.⁷ Margaret Wilson notes that Eastwell's parkland is mentioned in a children's book, *Higgledy-Piggledy* (1875) by Lord Brabourne (1829-1893),

Fanny Knight's eldest son and editor of Austen's letters. Brabourne's reference may have been triggered by the fact that the year before, 1874, the house was rented out for twelve years to the Duke of Edinburgh (1844-1900), second son of Queen Victoria, and his Russian wife Marie (1853-1920), daughter of the Tsar Alexander II. Lord Brabourne was a near neighbour, living in the village of Smeeth, and he records joining a shooting party with the duke.⁸



Eastwell Park. From England's Topographer, Or, A New and Complete History of the County of Kent by William Henry Ireland Vol. II facing p.424 (1829). Google Books.

The second house was Sandling Park, near Hythe, which belonged to the Deedes, a Kentish family into which Edward Austen's sister-in-law, Sophia (1772-1844), married in 1791. Perhaps the owner, William Deedes (1761-1834), had seen Bonomi's work at nearby Eastwell Park. Work was carried out here from 1795-1799. In a letter of 25-27 October 1800 Austen described a curious feature:

In talking of M^r Deedes's new house, M^{rs} Bramston told us one circumstance, which, that we should be ignorant of it before must make Edward's conscience fly into his face; she told us that one of the sitting rooms at Sandling, an oval room with a Bow at one end, has the very remarkable & singular feature of a fireplace with a window, the centre window of the Bow, exactly over the mantlepiece.⁹

Finally, there was Laverstoke Park, close to Steventon, which belonged to the Portals, neighbours of the Austens. Gilly Drummond notes:

Bonomi built Laverstoke for Harry Portal in 1796, again to take advantage of the view across the river valley. Interestingly, 'Freefolk', the old house, was not demolished until 1851. Two mansion houses in one park. They were both painted by Prosser [George Frederick Prosser (1805-1882)] and can be seen in his album of watercolours recently restored for Sir Jonathan Portal by the Hampshire Garden Trust and the Hampshire Archives Trust.¹⁰

Harry's grandfather was Henry de Portal, a French Huguenot naturalized in 1711, who soon after set up a paper mill. In 1724 he received the contract to make the Bank of England's notes. The family prospered and Henry's son Joseph bought the Laverstoke estate in 1759. Joseph's sons in Hampshire, John and William, are mentioned in Austen's letters. It was their elder brother Harry who was responsible for having the house demolished and rebuilt by Bonomi in 1796, the year before Austen began *Sense and Sensibility* according to Cassandra's note. The house was thereafter remodelled extensively in the mid-nineteenth century. Of the three houses, only Laverstoke has survived, although it is no longer owned by the Portals and is not open to the public. Eastwell Park was demolished in 1926, although oddly, it was rebuilt as a replica of another Elizabethan mansion and is now a luxury spa hotel. Sandling was destroyed by bombing in World War II.

John Broadwood (1732 - 1812) Harpsichord and Piano Manufacturer

"I dare say, Miss Fairfax, that he either gave his friend very minute directions, or wrote to Broadwood himself. Do not you think so?"¹¹

John Broadwood was born on 6 October 1732 in Berwickshire, the son of a cabinet maker. The family was originally of Northumbria but had moved to Scotland in the eighteenth century. He came to London in 1761 and was apprenticed to Burkat Shudi (1702-1773), a noted manufacturer of harpsichords of Swiss origin. Rather sensibly, Broadwood married Shudi's daughter Barbara (1749-1776) in 1769 and was made a partner the following year. Following Shudi's death in 1773 he continued the partnership with Shudi's son, Broadwood being the senior partner. He had sole control of the business from 1782.

Surviving manuscripts indicate that Broadwood was active in the making, selling and hiring of harpsichords, as well as tuning and other ancillary services. Records also show that the harpsichord was increasingly being replaced by the piano with the former being eclipsed by the end of the eighteenth century. Broadwood carried out considerable technical innovation and in 1783 was granted a patent for a new square piano, the type mentioned in *Emma*, Jane Fairfax's piano being 'not a grand, but a large-sized square pianoforté'.¹² In this Broadwood was assisted and advised by well-established figures Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), Italian composer, music publisher and instrument maker and Jan Dussek (1760-1812) Bohemian pianist and composer. Broadwood's eldest son, James Shudi Broadwood (1772-1851), joined the business in 1785 and he was joined by his brother Thomas Broadwood (1786-1861) in 1808. Ironically, as the nineteenth century progressed,

the company's refusal to countenance new technology led to its decline, although the firm is still active today. Based in Great Pulteney Street, London, Broadwood's workshop became synonymous with high quality. In 1815 a square piano would have cost between £17 6s to £26 (plus shipping and music. See Cramer below). This was a fair sum, but seemingly the going rate when we consider the sums Austen herself mentions. While living in Southampton in December 1808 Austen stated her intention of acquiring a pianoforté 'as good a one as can be got for 30 Guineas'.¹³ Following the marriage of her niece Anna in November 1814, Austen noted, with some disapproval, that they had splashed out twenty-four guineas on 'an Instrument'.¹⁴

Broadwood held the Royal Warrant as makers of musical instruments to the king and in 1818, Broadwood's son, Thomas, having visited Beethoven, sent him a piano, which was eagerly accepted. It was subsequently owned by Liszt and is now in the National Museum of Hungary at Budapest. Broadwood remained active in the management of the business up until 1812 when he suffered a stroke and died the following day, 17 July, aged eighty. This raises the question of the time frame of the novel as if we take the action of the novel to be set in 1814, the Broadwood intended must have been either of the two sons as opposed to their father, or perhaps it was just a slip on Austen's part.

Johann Baptist Cramer (1771 - 1858) Pianist and Composer

"Here is something quite new to me. Do you know it?—Cramer."¹⁵

Johann Baptist Cramer was born in Mannheim on 24 February 1771, the son of Wilhelm Cramer (1746-1799) who arrived in England alone shortly after his son's birth and over the next two decades established himself as England's foremost violinist. Johann came to England with his mother in 1774 aged around three and from a young age, his father taught him and his young brother Franz (1772-1848) the violin. Although Franz would go on to become a distinguished violinist, Johann displayed more aptitude for the piano and aged seven was placed under a tutor. He showed exceptional promise and went on to make his London debut in 1781 shortly after his tenth birthday, completing two European tours in 1788 and 1799. Muzio Clementi, known to Broadwood, was among his teachers. Cramer's career as a concert pianist lasted forty-five years, and he would go on to become familiar with almost all the principal musicians of Europe.

Cramer left a considerable body of work, considering himself a latter day Mozartian. One hundred and seventeen sonatas were written before 1820 with his early sonatas and concertos from the 1790s clearly reflecting his virtuosity. This was partly attributable to the more sophisticated manufacturing methods of piano makers such as Broadwood and it was an increasingly appealing trait to audiences, by whom he was revered and celebrated as 'Glorious John'. His output of didactic works, capriccios, fantasias and small pieces based on popular tunes

increased markedly after 1810. Presumably, it was one of these pieces that caught Frank Churchill's attention. Cramer also acted as a tutor, taking private pupils as well as being one of the first teachers at the newly founded Royal Academy of Music. He was also involved in the founding of the Royal Philharmonic Society in 1813. His style of playing left a marked impression on his contemporaries and even Beethoven described him as the finest pianist of his day. Cramer had actually helped introduce Beethoven's piano works to the public (on the Broadwood piano he had bought in February 1793) and there is some evidence that Beethoven occasionally borrowed from Cramer's sonatas. Kathryn Libin notes:

His [Cramer's] most successful work commercially was the *Studio per il Piano Forte*, eighty-four exercises published in two parts, in 1804 and 1810. These became the cornerstone of modern piano technique; it would not be an exaggeration to say that all serious pianists, such as Jane Fairfax, would have studied these etudes, which Beethoven admired and said were the best preparations for learning his works.¹⁶

Cramer, like Clementi, was also involved in music publishing. In 1805 he formed Cramer and Keys and five years later, he went into business with Samuel Chappell and later specialised in the sale of piano music. Cramer retired from public life in 1835. He had married for the second time in 1829 and after his retirement he spent ten years travelling on the Continent. He returned to England in 1845 where he remained until his death on 16 April 1858. Cramer's work appears in music books owned by Eliza de Feuillide and Cassandra Austen so it is likely Austen knew his work and it is possible she may even have seen him. Between 1784 and 1817 Cramer and his brother Franz played at the annual Hampshire Music Meeting at Winchester. Cramer's father also played in the Winchester orchestra where George Chard, Austen's piano teacher, would have played with him.

John Gowland (c.1704 - 1776) Apothecary

In the course of the same morning, Anne and her father chancing to be alone together, he began to compliment her on her improved looks; he thought her "less thin in her person, in her cheeks; her skin, her complexion, greatly improved—clearer, fresher. Had she been using any thing in particular?" "No, nothing at all." "Merely Gowland," he supposed. "No, nothing at all." "Ha! he was surprised at that;" and added, "Certainly you cannot do better than continue as you are; you cannot be better than well; or I should recommend Gowland, the constant use of Gowland, during the spring months. Mrs. Clay has been using it at my recommendation, and you see what it has done for her. You see how it has carried away her freckles."¹⁷

Gowland's date of birth is uncertain, but parish records at York state that he was seventy-three at his death, which would put his year of birth to around 1703-04. His immediate family appear to have been based near Durham and he could have been the John Gowland who was apprenticed to an apothecary at York in 1720. In 1736 he became apothecary to Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of the future

George III. In 1743 Elizabeth Chudleigh became maid of honour to the Princess of Wales. For some time, Chudleigh had suffered from a skin condition which resulted in blotches for which doctors had prescribed various ineffectual treatments. Having identified the cause as blocked pores, Gowland produced a lotion which, when applied, would cause any blemish (including freckles) to vanish. Unknown to his early clients, this was because the ingredients included a derivative of sulphuric acid, which would remove the top layer of skin. The story of Chudleigh's miraculous restoration appears to have been key to Gowland's success since as late as 1790 it was still, rather improbably, being referred to as 'fresh in the memory of the fashionable world'.¹⁸

Gowland himself made a fortune from his lotion and was appointed apothecary to George III in 1760. Although married, Gowland had no children and he left the secret of his formula to a close friend at court, Thomas Vincent. After Gowland's death in Bath on 3 August 1776, Vincent began making the lotion. Unfortunately, he made a bad marriage and during his absence abroad his wife, assisted by Vincent's servant with whom she had begun an affair, began to produce her own version of the lotion which was, if possible, even more toxic. Vincent, along with his son-in-law Robert Dickinson, set up his own production plant and a lively print war between husband and wife ensued.¹⁹ This spread as far as Hampshire where the *Hampshire Chronicle* printed Vincent's assertions, giving rise to the notion that a young Jane Austen may have first heard of Gowland from her local newspapers.²⁰ Both parties urged consumers to make sure their purchases were accompanied by a certificate of authentication or were signed by the manufacturer.

Vincent died in 1798 at the age of seventy-six, and although his son-in-law fought on, it seems the battle was won by Mrs Vincent and her noxious brew. Nonetheless, in 1816 Richard Reece's *The Monthly Gazette of Health*, revealed the fact that the lotion contained a corrosive.²¹ This was in the October issue which was shortly after Austen had finished writing *Persuasion* in August. Even earlier than this was John Corry's *Quack Doctors Dissected* which contains the poem *Modern Doctors* featuring the verse: 'There's the lotion of Gowland that flays ladies' Faces / Distorting the features of our modern graces.'²²

By the time Austen wrote *Persuasion*, there were clearly doubts about the efficacy of the lotion, although unsurprisingly Sir Walter seems serenely unaware of the controversy. However, fresh instances of the lotion's injurious effects continued to appear in the 1820s. The rather grim *A Monody in the Prospect of Death* published in 1822 by the Revd William Robb refers to it and has a detailed note from the author bemoaning its ill effects.²³ In 1825 Gowland was referenced in the *Art of Beauty* the author stating: 'No Kalydor, Gowland's lotion, or similar trash, can ever do you anything but injury'.²⁴ Similarly, Thomas John Graham's *Modern Domestic Medicine* published in 1826 describes Gowland's lotion as 'a solution of corrosive sublimate, it is by no means safe'.²⁵ Austen was actually very distantly related to Gowland. She may not have been aware of this, but if she was, the reference to him could have been a family in-joke. Gowland's lotion continued to be advertised in Bath newspapers until as late as 1871,²⁶ with advertisements

appearing in other parts of the country as late as 1893.²⁷ Curiously, adverts for Gowland appeared in various numbers of *Nicholas Nickleby* in 1838-39, with the vendor, Robert Shaw, claiming to be successor of the late Mrs Vincent.

Thomas Gray (1749 - 1820) Jeweller

She [Marianne] expressly conditioned, however, for paying no visits, and would do no more than accompany them to Gray's in Sackville-street, where Elinor was carrying on a negotiation for the exchange of a few old-fashioned jewels of her mother.²⁸

Thomas Gray was born on 18 October 1749, the son of Robert Gray (c.1713-1788). Thomas's half-brother Robert Gray (1762-1834) would become the Bishop of Bristol, but both Thomas's father and half-brother, William, were jewellers. There is no record of his being an apprentice, so it seems likely he learnt from his father who had a shop in New Bond Street. Gray spent much of his career at Sackville Street, with the first record dating from 1783 placing him at No. 42. In 1783 Gray also married Mary Musgrave by whom he had at least five children. In 1791 he acquired No. 41 in addition to No. 42, the former being larger. It seems No. 42 became a family residence, although in 1807 Gray moved his family to South Row West, Earls Court, Kensington. No. 41 remained Gray's business address and this is presumably where the Dashwood sisters went.

Gray's father enjoyed the rather dubious distinction of the Prince of Wales' patronage and this might be how Gray came to count him as a customer. As Austen herself was to discover, royal preferment was an expensive business. Between 1786 and 1789 the Prince of Wales spent the phenomenal sum of £21,201 11s 2d at Gray's, although it seems the latter subsequently lost royal favour due to his temerity in asking for his bills to be settled. There are however invoices from Gray in the Royal Archives dating from the Regency period, and one of them *was* paid, so it seems all was not lost. Where the Prince of Wales led, the aristocracy and gentry followed, or at least the literature of the period would suggest so. In addition to *Sense and Sensibility*, Gray's shop appears on two separate occasions in Maria Edgeworth's novels. In *Vivian*, completed in 1809 but published in 1812, Lady Sarah states that she has just been to the jeweller: "Half an hour ago, I was at Gray's the jeweller's, to call for my poor mother's diamonds, which, you know, he has reset"²⁹

The second instance is from *The Absentee*, which also appeared in 1812, where Gray himself makes a cameo appearance. Sir James states the reason for his visit to the jeweller, which sounds similar to Elinor's: "I'm going to Gray's, to give some old family diamonds either to be new set or exchanged."³⁰ On arrival he finds Lady Dashfort 'holding consultation deep with the jeweller'.³⁰ Similarly, in *Emma* Frank states, "my uncle means to give her [Jane Fairfax] all my aunt's jewels. They are to be new set"³¹. So perhaps this would have been more business in Gray's direction.³¹

Gray retired around 1817 and died three years later. He was buried on 4 October

1820.³² His widow died on 10 April 1824, aged sixty-six. She was buried with her husband and their son William in St Mary Abbot's Church, Kensington.

James King (1746 - 1816) Master of Ceremonies

They made their appearance in the Lower Rooms; and here fortune was more favourable to our heroine. The master of the ceremonies introduced to her a very gentlemanlike young man as a partner;—his name was Tilney.³³

“Shall I tell you what you ought to say?”

“If you please.”

“I danced with a very agreeable young man, introduced by Mr. King; had a great deal of conversation with him—seems a most extraordinary genius—hope I may know more of him. *That*, madam, is what I *wish* you to say.”³⁴

James King was born in Ireland in around 1746. He appears to have emigrated to America as he served with distinction in a loyalist regiment, the 105th Regiment of Foot, in the American War. Curiously, the commander of the regiment was Francis, Lord Rawdon, subsequently known as the Earl of Moira (1754-1826) who would later cross paths with Henry Austen. King obtained the rank of Captain before retiring in 1783. He went on to become Master of Ceremonies of the Lower Rooms at Bath in 1785, when he was elected without opposition. A letter of his soliciting the office appeared in *The Bath Chronicle* of 3 November 1785, dated 26 October, from Queen Square. The same newspaper published confirmation of King's appointment on 10 November along with a grateful acknowledgement from King. He would remain in the Lower Rooms for twenty years until 1805. At this point, the Master of Ceremonies in the Upper Rooms, Richard Tyson, who had also served since 1785, retired and King took his place. King remained in office for the rest of his life, as well as occupying a similar role at Cheltenham from around 1801, the seasons for the two spas differing which allowed him to occupy both roles concurrently. During her time in Bath Austen would inevitably have come across him.

The Bath Chronicle of 6 December 1792 advertised No. 4 Wood Street for sale describing it as ‘late in the occupation of James King, esq; M.C.’. It is unclear whether this incentive was successful or not, as it was used again in a similarly worded notice in the same newspaper on 31 July 1794. Shortly afterwards, on 10 August, King married Margaret Buckeley, sister of Sir John Buckeley of Presaddfed. King was said to have had a ‘well informed mind, improved by associating with polished society’ and he was, as would be expected, ‘proverbially elegant in his person and manners, and ever assiduous in the discharge of his official duties’.³⁵ Richard Brinsley Sheridan's sister, Elizabeth, described him in a letter dating from 1786 as ‘a very genteel fashionable looking young man’³⁶ and in February 1794 the Bath Herald published a poem in French, possibly written by an emigré in praise of King which concludes:

Heureux qui a l'art de plaire
 Il est comblé de mille faveurs,
 Quand il sait par ses manières,
 Comme JAMES KING, gagner les coeurs.³⁷



*Portrait of James King taken from The New Bath Guide 1790.
 Published by R. Cruttwell.*

As master of ceremonies, King's role was an important one, his most famous predecessor being Richard 'Beau' Nash (1674-1761). He was responsible for overseeing assembly balls, which included organising the venue, tickets, musicians, the ordering of dances and generally ensuring decorum was maintained on the night. He also would have welcomed new arrivals and made introductions, as he does for Catherine and Henry. His post was a prestigious one and he was recognised as the arbiter elegantiarum, literally so in King's case, as he had a medallion which had these words stamped on its reverse. He died in Cheltenham on 16 October 1816 aged around seventy, after a short illness. He was succeeded as master of ceremonies by George Wyke at Bath and Captain Alexander Fotheringham at Cheltenham. A portrait of James King appears as the frontispiece in many editions of *The New Bath Guide*, a canny decision perhaps on the part of the publisher as the portrait would help newcomers to Bath identify the master of ceremonies to whom they would need to make themselves known.

King's elegance and style appear to have been obtained in the usual way with

the usual results. He left behind considerable debts as well as an illegitimate son, James (c.1787-1873), who entered the army and was severely wounded at the battle of Vitoria in 1813. However, there was some consolation for Mrs King as although she had had no children, the younger James looked after her in her widowhood. She died in February 1831.

Nicholas Peter Molland (d.1804) Pastrycook

Mr Elliot was attending his two cousins and Mrs. Clay. They were in Milsom-Street. It began to rain, not much, but enough to make shelter desirable for women, and quite enough to make it very desirable for Miss Elliot to have the advantage of being conveyed home in Lady Dalrymple's carriage, which was seen waiting at a little distance; she, Anne, and Mrs. Clay, therefore, turned into Molland's, while Mr. Elliot stepped to Lady Dalrymple, to request her assistance.³⁸

Nicholas Peter Molland was apparently a French cook from Brighton.³⁹ After two years in Northgate Street he moved in late 1781 to nearby No. 2 Milsom Street. According to Egan's *Walks through Bath* (1819), the street housed 'confectioners to invite the most fastidious appetite'.⁴⁰ Molland was described as a pastrycook and his shop can be compared to modern day delicatessens serving both sweet and savoury snacks which could either be taken away or eaten on the premises. It seems that in his early years Molland had perhaps found it necessary to diversify, as an entry in *The Bath Chronicle* from 20 January 1780 notes that 'The Surprising Irish Giant' could be seen, for two shillings, on Molland's premises. This was most likely a reference to Charles Byrne (1761-1783) who suffered from gigantism. An advert in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* from 6 December 1781 announces Molland's move to Milsom Street and details his offerings:

all sorts of Made-Dishes, Soups, and Pastry, as neat and as reasonable as in London; Dinners elegantly dressed, and expressly at any set time sent to lodgings,—Great variety of Biscuits.—Dinners dressed at gentlemen's houses.—Hot Pastry and Soups, from twelve to four.—French Black and White Puddings.—Very fine Turtle every day retail.

He is listed in various Bath directories of 1792, 1799 and 1800 but there is a burial record for a Peter Nicholas Moland (sic) for the 3 April 1804 and by 1805 his wife seems to have taken over the business. On Wednesday 3 November 1808 the Mayor of Devizes gave a ball to celebrate the opening of the new town hall. *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* reported: 'Over 300 people partook of a cold collation' which 'for its elegance and tasteful arrangement, reflected the highest credit on Mrs Molland, of this city, by whom it was furnished'.⁴¹ The same newspaper reports her providing a supper to celebrate the King's jubilee in 1809.⁴² *The Bath Directory* for 1812 includes Mrs Molland as 'Cook and Confectioner, Milsom Street'. When her death was reported on 24 May 1813, mention was made of her generosity to the poor to whom it had been 'liberally extended for the last thirty years'.⁴³ She was buried on 20 June, her age being given as sixty-seven.

After Mrs Molland's death, the shop seems to have continued to trade under its old name, as testified to by Jane Austen. Mrs Piozzi also referred to a lunch at Molland's in a letter from March 1817.⁴⁴ A directory from 1819 references a Mrs Mervin at the premises who is described as a 'pastry-cook and confectioner'.⁴⁵

Molland appears to have been something of a fixture at Bath and he was referenced in a poem by John Cam Hobhouse, later Lord Broughton (1786-1869). In *The Wonder of a Week at Bath* published in 1811, while praising 'Immortal Molland', Hobhouse makes the rather unseemly observation that the doorway of the establishment is an ideal place to view the legs of passing girls.⁴⁶ When Sir Walter says 'he had counted eighty-seven women go by, one after another, without there being a tolerable face among them' he does so at 'a shop in Bond-Street' which would have been very close to Molland's in Milsom Street.⁴⁷ By all accounts, Molland's was quite expensive, but it sounds like it was worth it.

Humphry Repton (1752 - 1818) Landscape gardener

"I must try to do something with it," said Mr. Rushworth, "but I do not know what. I hope I shall have some good friend to help me."

"Your best friend upon such an occasion," said Miss Bertram, calmly, "would be Mr. Repton, I imagine."⁴⁸

Humphry Repton was born at Bury St Edmunds on 21 April 1752. He was intended for a career in business, but in 1788 Repton decided to capitalise on his talent for sketching and set himself up as a landscape gardener. He was, in fact, the first practitioner to use the term 'landscape gardener', having it printed on his card. Repton's initial success was partly due to his skill in cultivating fashionable and aristocratic clients. As part of his method, Repton was known for his signature 'Red Books'. These were impressive, elegant volumes, in red morocco produced for his patrons, outlining his proposed improvements through watercolour illustrations, detailed reports and before and after representations. Among Repton's Red Books were those for Blaise Castle, of *Northanger Abbey* fame, and also Lord Mansfield's London home, Kenwood. During his career, Repton carried out more than four hundred commissions for a wide range of clients, including Mrs Austen's cousin, Thomas Leigh (1734-1813), who had employed him at Adlestrop in Gloucester in 1799. Repton was also an author in his own right. He made specific reference to his work at Adlestrop in his 1803 treatise *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*. His other works included *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening* (1795) and *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816). Austen would also have seen his name in Frances Burney's *Camilla* (1796), as like her, he was a subscriber.

Thomas Leigh had overseen and paid Repton for his work on the Adlestrop estate even though he was only the rector. The estate itself actually belonged to his nephew James Henry Leigh (1765-1823), who had himself consulted Repton in the 1790s. On Repton's advice, the entrance of the rectory was moved and its

garden was merged with the estate's grounds. A road was diverted and a new one made through the park connecting Adlestrop House with the rectory. Another link to Repton was provided by the Adlestrop Leighs when they moved to Stoneleigh Abbey. Austen visited Adlestrop in 1806 so she was able to see Repton's handiwork for herself. But while she was there, the Hon. Mary Leigh of Stoneleigh died and due to an ambiguously-worded will, Thomas Leigh had a claim to the abbey. This resulted in his immediately setting out with his lawyer to take instant possession, accompanied by a doubtless bemused Austen and her mother. Thomas Leigh did end up inheritor of the abbey and a few years later he called on Repton again. In this case, the Red Book which he produced in 1809 survives, and James Austen and his family visited during the summer of this year. Claire Tomalin notes that Mary Berry recorded seeing Repton at Stoneleigh in 1810 although it seems she wasn't impressed, noting, 'Mr Repton, planning future improvements; very probably . . . for the worse'.⁴⁹

The family connection with Repton could explain his inclusion in *Mansfield Park* and Austen's familiarity with his fees (five guineas a day, plus expenses). Repton's success declined in his later years, as did his health, and by the time *Mansfield Park* was published he was in a wheelchair. Two years later he was satirised as Marmaduke Milestone in Thomas Love Peacock's *Headlong Hall* (1816). He died on 24 March 1818, almost forgotten. However, after a period of neglect, his reputation enjoyed a resurgence and his Red Books, now highly sought after, are held in a number of public and private collections.

Edmund Tattersall (1758 - 1810) Bloodstock Auctioneer

"For they must have been seen together," he observed, "once at Tattersal's, and twice in the lobby of the House of Commons."⁵⁰



*Tattersall's Horse Repository, Hyde Park Corner, Thomas Rowlandson (1809).
Public Domain.*

Tattersall's was, and is, a bloodstock auction house which remained in family ownership until 1942. The founder, Richard Tattersall (1725-1795), was baptised on 5 June 1725 at Burnley. In 1745 he came to London where he entered the employment of the Duke of Kingston (who would subsequently, to his regret, marry Elizabeth Chudleigh, whom Gowland treated). Having established Tattersall's at Hyde Park Corner in 1766, the business flourished.⁵¹ This was partly due to Richard Tattersall's good reputation, but he also took trouble to woo valuable clients, including the Prince of Wales, whose stud Tattersall sold in 1786. On his death in 1795, the business passed on to his son, Edmund (1758-1810) a cultured man, who had spent much time on the Continent and who preferred hunting to business. Yet he had a firm knowledge of the family trade and he wisely made his eldest son Richard (1785-1859) a partner in 1806. Edmund died just four years later on the 23 January 1810 and was buried in Northolt, West London. Upon succeeding his father, Richard expanded the business considerably with tactics such as increased sales to the Continent (his grandfather Richard's clients had included the French royal family). He also initiated sales in Doncaster and Hampton Court. Tattersall's had always been a place for gentlemen to make and settle bets, with a subscription room having been added in 1780. In 1815, Richard opened new subscription rooms for this purpose, although ironically, he was a deeply religious man who never bet himself. He had a lengthy career and died while on holiday in Dover on 22 July 1859. He in turn was succeeded by his son, another Richard (1812-1870) who moved the business to Albert Gate at Knightsbridge when the lease at Hyde Park Corner expired in 1865.

Sir Walter may well have known all three men, but the time frame of the novel indicates that he may have visited Tattersall's with the young William Walter during the ownership of Edmund. Sir Walter would no doubt have been aware that this suave, well-connected man was the great-grandson of the twelfth Earl of Somerville.



St Mary's Church, Northolt, London. Edmund Tattersall's gravestone is towards the far right, see next page. Photographs by Azar Hussain.



Tattersall's is also mentioned by Maria Edgeworth. In *Belinda* (1801), Lady Delacour insists that her horses are procured from there.⁵² Charlotte Smith also mentions the firm in *Desmond* (1792), where Mr Verney exceeds even John Thorpe's bragging: "'Don't you remember a famous trotting galloway I had, two years ago, that I bought at Tattersall's, that would go fifteen miles the hour?'"⁵³ Smith also mentions Tattersall's in *Ethelinde* (1789), as one of the few things that will persuade the horse-obsessed Miss Newenden to stay with her brother is 'some capital sale at Tattersall's'.⁵⁴ Smith's novels are mentioned in *Catherine*, or the Bower and *Ethelinde* is called out specifically.⁵⁵

Closer to home James Austen mentions Tattersall's in the second number of *The Loiterer* of 7 February 1789. Here, we find a fox hunting parson on the lookout for a curacy that would allow him to indulge his favourite pastime, apparently at the expense of his flock's well-being. A touch of authenticity is provided by the last line: 'Whoever has such a one to dispose of, may suit themselves by sending a line, directed A.B. to be left at the Turf Coffee House, or the gentleman may be spoken with, any Tuesday morning at Tattersall's Betting Room.'⁵⁶

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*. Ed. R.W. Chapman. Oxford: OUP, 1969, p.330.
2. *Emma*. Eds. Richard Cronin and Dorothy McMillan. Cambridge: CUP, 2005, p.515.
3. Paula Byrne states it was most likely the Olympic. *The Genius of Jane Austen: Her Love of Theatre and Why She Is a Hit in Hollywood*. London: William Collins, 2017, p.41.
4. *Sense and Sensibility*. Ed. Edward Copeland. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, p.285.
5. *Ibid.*, p.486 n.11. For further details see Jeremy Musson 'Jane Austen and

- Joseph Bonomi'. *Georgian Group Journal*, 21 (2013), pp.137-150 and Rosanna Barraclough 'Reassessing Joseph Bonomi the Elder: The Hawksmoor Prize Essay 2021'. *Architectural History*, 2022, Vol.65, pp.195-226.
6. Finch-Hatton married the daughter of the 2nd Earl of Mansfield, Elizabeth Murray (1760-1825), whom Austen mentions meeting in her letters. Elizabeth's second cousin was Dido Elizabeth Belle (c.1761-1804).
 7. Deirdre Le Faye (ed), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Oxford: OUP, 2011, p.111.
 8. Wilson, Margaret. 'What Happened to George Hatton and Mr J W?' *The Jane Austen Society Report for 2009*, pp.33-36.
 9. *Letters*, pp.52-53.
 10. Gilly Drummond, 'A Lively Eye for Landscape'. *Jane Austen Society Collected Reports 1986-1995*, p.229-230.
 11. *Emma*, p.260.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp.232, 570 n.4.
 13. *Letters*, p.168.
 14. *Ibid.*, p.297.
 15. *Emma*, pp.262 & 572.
 16. Libin, Kathryn. 'Music, Character and Social Standing in Jane Austen's *Emma*.' *Persuasions* 22 (2000), p.19.
 17. *Persuasion*. Eds. Janet Todd and Antje Blank. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, pp.157-158, 374 n.1.
 18. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* Thursday 11 November 1790. See also *Epitome of a Manuscript Essay on Cutaneous Diseases. Second Part*, 1794.
 19. See for example *For the Face and Skin on the Power and Effects of Gowland's Lotion* (1793?) by Vincent and Dickinson, especially the Appendix pp.29-35. For examples of Mrs Vincent's counterclaims see *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 23 December 1790 and *Kentish Gazette* 25 January 1791, *Hampshire Chronicle* 8 June 1801.
 20. See Monday 6 September 1790, Monday 21 February 1791, Monday 28 February 1791.
 21. *The Monthly Gazette of Health*. Ed. Richard Reece. Vol. I (From January 1, 1816, to January 1, 1817), p.344.
 22. Corry, John. *Quack Doctors Dissected*. London (1810?) p.45.
 23. W. Robb, *A Monody in The Prospect of Death*. Edinburgh: Macredie, Skelly & Co. London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1822, pp.5, 20-22.
 24. Anon. *The Art of Beauty*. London: Knight and Lacey, 1825, p.151.
 25. Thomas John Graham, *Modern Domestic Medicine*. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1827, p.332.
 26. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 20 April 1871.
 27. *Brighton Gazette* 10 August 1893.
 28. *Sense and Sensibility*, p.250, 481 n.1.
 29. Maria Edgeworth, *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth: Volume 4 Manoeuvring, Vivian*. Eds. Claire Connolly with Marilyn Butler. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999, p.278.

30. Maria Edgeworth, *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth: Volume 5 The Absentee, Madame de Fleury, Emilie de Coulanges*. Eds. Heidi Van de Veire & Kim Walker with Marilyn Butler. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1999, p.188. Note that in subsequent editions this was changed to Rundell and Bridges, another fashionable jeweller.
31. *Emma*, pp.522-523.
32. Note that the Cambridge edition incorrectly states 1825, p.481 n.1.
33. *Northanger Abbey*. Eds. Barbara M. Benedict and Deirdre Le Faye. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, p.17.
34. *Northanger Abbey*, p.19.
35. Mainwaring, Rowland. *Annals of Bath*. Bath: Mary Meyler, 1838, p.169.
36. Sheridan, Elizabeth. *Betsy Sheridan's Journal*. Ed. William LeFanu. Oxford: OUP, 1986, p.82.
37. 'Happy the person with the talent of pleasing; favours are heaped on him when, like James King, he can win hearts by courteous behaviour.'
38. *Persuasion*, pp.189, 382 n.1.
39. *The Bath Chronicle* 14 December 1780 indicates he was from Brighton. This advert also lists his various offerings and services. See also *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 6 December 1781.
40. *Persuasion*, p.382.
41. See 10 November 1808. See also *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 11 January 1810 and 1 February 1810.
42. See 2 November 1809.
43. *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* 27 May 1813.
44. Hester Lynch Piozzi, *The Piozzi Letters: Correspondence of Hester Lynch Piozzi, 1784-1821 (formerly Mrs. Thrale) Volume 6 1817-1821*. Eds. Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002, p.84.
45. *Gye's Bath Directory*, Corrected to January 1819. Bath: H.Gye, 1819, p.79.
46. Hobhouse, John Cam. *The Wonders of a Week at Bath*. London: James Cawthorn, 1811, p.10.
47. *Persuasion*, p.153.
48. *Mansfield Park*. Ed. John Wiltshire. Cambridge: CUP, 2005, p.62.
49. Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen: A Life*. London: Penguin, 2000, p.324 n.5.
50. *Persuasion*, pp.8, 338 n.25.
51. Note that the Cambridge edition incorrectly states 1776, p.338 n.25.
52. Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda*. Ed. Kathryn J. Kirkpatrick. Oxford: OUP, 2008, p.79.
53. Charlotte Smith, *The Works of Charlotte Smith: Volume 5 Desmond. A Novel*. Ed. Stuart Curran. London: Routledge, 2016, p.118.
54. Smith, Charlotte. *The Works of Charlotte Smith: Volume 3 Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake*. Ed. Stuart Curran. London: Routledge, 2016, p.14.
55. Jane Austen, *Juvenilia*. Ed. Peter Sabor. Cambridge: CUP, 2006, pp.249, 492.
56. James Austen, *The Loiterer* (Oxford, 1790). Ed. Li-Ping Geng. Ann Arbor: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 2000, p.12.

The Austens' Residences in Sevenoaks

Part II: The Red House, Kippington House, and an excursion to Lamberhurst ¹

Mark Ballard

We saw in the first part of this article (*Report 2022*) how John Austen V managed to lessen the divisive effects of his grandfather's will by moving to Sevenoaks himself, as his mother must surely have wished. He assuaged his grandfather's ghost by marrying Mary Stringer, the daughter of one of his trustees, though the widowed Mary herself, by purchasing the Old House in 1730, seemed equally determined to put down roots in Sevenoaks. But the key figure in the family's establishment there was John V's next brother Francis Austen, who paid the fees of Jane Austen's orphaned father when he was a pupil at Tonbridge School and helped him obtain his living in Hampshire. Old Francis was a man of many roles: family lawyer to the Dukes of Dorset at Knole, and their agent in parliamentary elections; attorney at Clifford's Inn; undersheriff, then Clerk of the Peace for Kent; country solicitor, property speculator, mortgage lender, multiple steward of manors; multiple trustee of turnpikes; dynast.



The Red House, 50 High Street, Sevenoaks.

Francis Austen purchased The Red House in 1743 and lived long enough to welcome George Austen, his wife, and daughters Jane and Cassandra to the house

in 1788: he was then aged ninety and Jane twelve. If Jane Austen revisited this part of the county on other occasions, they have gone unrecorded, as family letters have not survived for long periods of her early life. But the neighbourhood of Westerham appears in *Pride and Prejudice* as the location for Lady Catherine de Bourgh's estate of Rosings, which is possibly modelled on Chevening. In later life she passed only fleetingly through the west of the county, on journeys between her brother Edward Knight's two residences: Chawton in Hampshire, and Godmersham in Kent. One other place at which she is known to have stayed is Wrotham, in November 1813, attending church with her brother Edward and her niece Fanny Knight, and probably staying at the new Rectory.²

The plot occupied by The Red House, 50 High Street, Sevenoaks, had belonged to the Couchman family of Tooting Graveney since 1631, and it is believed The Red House was built for Thomas Couchman in 1686, replacing their previous house; but if so he lived there only three years, and for the next forty-five years it was occupied by the eccentric pharmacist Dr Thomas Fuller (1654-1734).³ Then the purchaser from Fuller's estate, William Roffe, overstretched himself financially, owing, among others, £400 to William Cranston of St Bride's London, and conveyed the legal estate of The Red House to him in 1740 upon the sheriff of Kent's inability to recover sufficient goods and chattels to pay the debt.⁴ But the property remained heavily mortgaged when Francis Austen came into occupation himself soon afterwards. It is interesting to see Francis's youngest brother Stephen, the London bookseller, acting with him as the last in a series of assignees of Roffe's mortgage, this time in trust for Francis himself, to await the freehold and inheritance. Only by application to Chancery could the mortgage be foreclosed; and the resulting conveyance to Francis was enrolled there on 22 December 1743. It seems likely that Cranston was one of Francis's London clients; and that by these means Francis both secured Cranston's loan in full and the conveyance to himself of The Red House and fifteen acres of gardens and other land, which lay within easy reach of his greatest client, the Duke of Dorset – and at a lower price (£1,810) than the £2,050 which Roffe had paid in 1734 for the same property.⁵

For John Newman in *The Buildings of England* series, this is 'the finest house in the [High] street . . . It represents the late 17th century ideal . . . The doorcase is the only false note, a late 18th century insertion with elongated attached columns.' From Kip's engraving of the house featured in Harris's *History of Kent* (1719), it is apparent that the present doorcase was, indeed, not an original feature; also the three dormers on the street frontage were then five. Francis Austen soon improved the domestic facilities: in June 1751, already widowed, he was visited by his aunt from Tonbridge, Mary Tilden, then aged seventy-seven. For once making light of the ailments she had been complaining of to her brother Edward for years, she wrote to him,

I hired Horse & man & went one day to Sevenoak while Neice Hooper⁶ was there. Nephew fine; House & gardens were very delightfull; he shew'd me all the Offices where Brewing, Bakeing, Washing &c [are done], Coach House, Grainery, where to dry

Hopps &c. which he built himself, & lastly his Cellars, well stored with the best Wines & other good liquor. I told him I wisht I was his Housekeeper, I should live well, and afterwards advised him to marry again and enjoy all his good things with a good Wife. I almost think Cousin Austen has laid out as much in Buildeing and making things convenient in his House as the whole Purchase was at first, it being sold very reasonable as I have heard.⁷

The purchase in 1743 had included a separate ‘little tenement’ containing a brewhouse and stables: these probably correspond to the present Red House Cottages, which are believed to have been converted from a stable block. An extension at the rear of The Red House itself, at right-angles to the road, is not visible in the 1719 engraving and may have originated with the offices which Mary Tilden describes, before undergoing further expansion in the early-twentieth century.

In 1759 Austen purchased from William Covell two further small dwellings adjoining The Red House’s plot to the south.⁸ The northernmost now occupying their position, 48A High Street, is identified as ‘The Armoury’ by Newman, who regards the date 1760, in the brickwork of its north-facing wall, as a date of construction. In the listed building schedule, Nos. 48A and its two companions, Nos. 48 and 46, are described as a single building with twentieth-century alterations⁹ – and if this too is correct, we can regard the whole as a commission of Francis Austen, having had its predecessors demolished immediately. The central part, No. 48, with its mock-Tudor panelling, served as a public house, the Bricklayers’ Arms, in the late-nineteenth century, then a café; while No 48A became a Christian Science Reading Room. Here the initials of Francis Austen, his second wife Jane, and three sons, Francis Motley, Sackville, and John, can still be seen, elegantly carved into the brick, together with those of ‘J.H.’ and ‘M.L.’ (probably Multon Lambarde).



Detail of Austen family inscriptions on 48A High Street.

Old Francis became Clerk of the Peace for Kent in 1753, and latterly shared his practice with John Fellowes Claridge, who on Francis's death entered into partnership with his son Francis Motley Austen who had succeeded his father as Clerk of the Peace. The present occupants of The Red House, Messrs Knocker and Foscett, are in a direct line of succession to these partnerships. As Francis Motley Austen chose not to live there, instead purchasing Kippington in 1796, most authors assume that he sold The Red House that year; instead, David Reeves of Knocker and Foscett has indicated that it remained in the ownership of the Austen family (or the successive legal partnerships) until 1913, being used for much of that time as a school for young gentlemen, the Sevenoaks Academy, and the legal practice moved back into the building in 1935.¹⁰

It is well-known that Francis acquired extensive land through both of his marriages: to Anne Motley, through whom he obtained her family's estate at Wilmington, near Dartford, and to the rich widow Jane Lennard, through whom he came by another centred on West Wickham, but he had been speculating in property for most of his career. There was the land called Roundabouts in Crowborough, Sussex (enclosed by the present-day Church Road, Croft Road, and Crowborough Hill), which he sold back to the Fermor trust for All Saints Chapel, its school and glebe land, in 1736-7.¹¹ According to Jane Austen's brother Henry, Francis also 'bought up all the valuable land round the town' of Sevenoaks, and although this is definitely an exaggeration, he did purchase land off Gracious Lane, and, at some miles' distance, the manors of East and West Yaldham in Wrotham, only to sell the latter to William Evelyn Glanville of St Clere around 1733.¹² He also purchased Boxley Abbey, only to sell it on before 1756 to Sir Edward Austen, 6th baronet (whom he regarded as his cousin, though the relationship has never been proved).¹³ Loans to actual relatives and associates were secured by mortgages of their property: for instance, George Austen mortgaged to Francis in 1758 most of the land in Tonbridge defined in his father and stepmother's marriage settlement; and Thomas Hooker in 1777 the site of Fosse Bank and other land in Tonbridge, Hadlow, Ticehurst and Wadhurst.¹⁴

Francis Motley's early married life was divided between Golden Square in Soho, where his son John was born,¹⁵ and Wilmington, in one of the many properties which his mother Anne Motley had contributed to the marriage settlement with Old Francis (only to die following childbirth in 1747). Until 1782 his wife Elizabeth recorded her household and personal expenses in two account books, the subject of an article by their later owner.¹⁶ The Wilmington estate, at 396 acres, was already quite extensive when mapped in 1753, and had expanded still further on Old Francis's acquisition of Shere Hall Farm in 1765.¹⁷ When Old Francis retired from the position of Clerk of the Peace in 1773, at the age of seventy-five, Francis Motley succeeded him, but he may have eventually found Wilmington inconvenient for getting to Maidstone. From entries of his last five children's baptisms in the parish registers of Lamberhurst (from Mary Ann onwards), it appears that he moved there in about 1780, to a house named Court Lodge, to which we shall return.¹⁸

In his purchases of land Old Francis appeared to be seizing opportunities to

make profits rather than making a serious effort to manage a large estate himself, which would have taken him away from his legal practice. But it was through Sir Charles Farnaby (the brother-in-law of Francis's stepdaughter Mary Lennard) mortgaging to Francis that the estate of Kippington, half a mile west of the town of Sevenoaks, was acquired by his eldest son. Francis Motley took a step up among the landed gentry when he acquired Kippington in 1796, increasingly delegating legal work to his clerks. At that date the estate covered 783 acres, as it then included Brittain's, Dibden and other farmland mainly to the west and south-west: this was a rural seat to compare with Godmersham.¹⁹ The original house, built probably in the late seventeenth century by Francis Farnaby, appears in another Kip print in Harris's *History of Kent* within a formal landscape, with parterres stretching away towards parkland and the horizon.

In the 1780s Sir Charles Farnaby cleared the formal gardens, removed the two projecting wings at the east front of the house, and completely rebuilt it in red brick. What survives is a part of this re-modelling that underwent further modifications in Francis Motley's time, and probably again in the 1860s. A recent publication of the Kent Gardens Trust reports the discovery that Francis Motley consulted the fashionable garden designer Humphry Repton about the landscaping, Repton's report on one site meeting in July 1808 having been found among the newly-catalogued Anderdon MSS at the Royal Academy. The authors believe that Repton did not produce one of his famous Red Books (as he did for the Amhersts' adjoining estate of Montreal), but that his advice was eventually taken. This not only meant felling trees to open up vistas, altering the approach roads and creating a new drive at the north-west corner of the estate, but making changes to the house as well. Repton recommended the addition of a portico to the east front under the existing pediment, and his aversion to brickwork may have resulted in its rendering and the application of a cream or white wash, because these were in place by the time of J.P. Neale's engraving of 1819. Kippington Lodge probably dates from the Austens' period of ownership, and this may have been to a design of Repton's architect son John Adey.²⁰



Kippington House today (east front).

Francis Motley's eldest son, Francis Lucius, died insane two months before his father, and in 1817 the Kippington estate passed to the second son, Colonel Thomas Austen, who was born in 1775, the same year as Jane Austen, his second cousin. Thomas Austen served in the Royal American Regiment (or Greenjackets), and under Wellington governed the Algarve in the Peninsular War. From 1813 to 1817 he acted as Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland under Charles, Earl Whitworth, the Viceroy (who was formerly a schoolfellow of his father at Tonbridge). Thomas then retired to Kippington House, and acted as a Justice of the Peace for West Kent for many years; and as MP for West Kent from 1845 to 1847, breaking with Peel's government over the repeal of the Corn Laws. He married first, in 1803, Margaretta Morland, and second, in 1826, Caroline Catherine Manning of Combe Bank, Sundridge, a sister of Cardinal Henry Manning. Architecturally, Thomas is believed to have contributed at least the idea of the cricket pavilion at The Vine, Sevenoaks, which still stands today; less positively, he purchased Park Place from the Lambarde family in 1841 only to have most of the house demolished. He died without issue, leaving Kippington to his nephew, John VII's son John Francis (or Frank) Austen, whose very name indicates his father's intention – with his two elder brothers having failed to produce a son – to unite the line of Johns and the line of Francises. With ample property to his name already, Frank did not need to reside at Kippington and he sought to realise the estate's development potential. Already diminished in size towards the north-west and south-west, it was reduced to 266 acres before being sold entirely to William James Thompson in 1869.²¹

* * * * *

In the first part of this article we saw that in 1807 John Austen VI of Horsmonden and the Old House, Sevenoaks, died leaving a widow, Joanna, but no surviving children. His will now revealed what would happen to the family estates centred on the houses of Broadford and Grovehurst. As Jane wrote to her sister Cassandra,

We have at last heard something of M^r Austen's Will. It is beleived at Tunbridge that he has left everything after the death of his widow to M^r M^y Austen's 3^d son John; & as the said John was the only one of the Family who attended the Funeral, it seems likely to be true.—Such ill-gotten Wealth can never prosper!²²

It is not clear quite in what way Jane Austen regarded her cousin John's wealth as ill-gotten, so this quotation has given rise to various interpretations. Her prophecy with regard to her cousin's future prosperity seems ill-founded: rather, she seems to be giving vent to a degree of resentment towards the Sevenoaks Austens, suggesting perhaps a souring of relations since Old Francis had welcomed her to The Red House in 1788. The news was almost certainly relayed to Southampton by Harriet Austen of Tonbridge, a pecuniary beneficiary in place of her brother Edgar, who had predeceased the testator.²³ Jane knew Francis Motley was well able to provide for his large family and at this time his eldest son Francis Lucius would have been

expected to inherit Kippington. John VII hardly needed to inherit Broadford and Grovehurst as well. He was a clergyman, the incumbent of two benefices, Crayford and Horsted Keynes, and chaplain to the Dukes of Dorset at Knole. Moreover, he was soon to acquire the benefice of Chevening, the patronage of which belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a result of an exchange with the previous incumbent, Arthur Onslow. In March 1813 they resigned from their respective livings. Onslow could be instituted as rector of Crayford by the gift of its patron, for that patronage belonged to Francis Motley Austen, who had acquired it from the Fermors. This allowed John VII to be collated by the Archbishop to the newly vacant benefice of Chevening. The exchange was so convenient to John VII that one cannot believe he did not initiate it. Once John VI's widow Joanna had died, in 1811, he could lay claim not only to the Horsmonden estates but also move into the vacated Old House in Sevenoaks High Street. This could not have been better situated for his chaplaincy duties at Knole, and was convenient for Chevening as well, before the rectory there was renovated.²⁴

It was also in 1813 that John VII married Harriet Lane of Bradbourne, Sevenoaks, and on 14 January 1815, a double-action Érard harp was delivered for the use of their niece Mary Anne Campion (1797-1825), who was apparently staying at their Sevenoaks address, which would then have been the Old House.²⁵ In recounting this in a previous *Report*, Janine Barchas resisted the temptation to emphasise that the young harpist is also Deirdre Le Faye's candidate to be the actual subject in the so-called 'Rice Portrait of Jane Austen'.²⁶

The provenance of the Rice Portrait has been traced back to the early months of Colonel Thomas Austen's residency at Kippington House, Sevenoaks, around 1818, but the documentary evidence dates only from two generations later. The identity of the subject remains contentious, and I cannot attempt to resolve the controversy, but will venture one or two observations.

The Rice family's claim that it depicted Jane Austen was only seriously disputed at a time when vital evidence, including the painter's signature, had been removed in over-vigorous cleaning and restoration processes. It would never have been prominent, but then, when doubts were setting in over the subject's identity and whether the costume was not too late in style for Jane Austen at the age of around thirteen, it had totally vanished. As a consequence, the suspicion of Le Faye and others that the owners had 'constructed their own theory' in the face of expert opinion to the contrary appeared justified. But glass plate negatives of a photograph of the canvas taken by Emery Walker at the request of Sir Ernest Rice, its owner in 1910, before the cleaning processes began, had been kept in the Heinz Archive in the National Portrait Gallery. In 2012 scanning and analysis of these by Acumé Forensics restored to visibility not one but two signatures, on which the Rices' case relied, of Ozias Humphry, a former miniaturist painter forced to turn to full-scale portraiture after a fall from a horse damaged his eyesight. The name Jane Austen appears obscurely in the photographs alongside Humphry's signature and the digits 178*. Unable to make them out himself, Thomas Harding Newman, the donor in 1883, had supposed the painting to be Zoffany's work, and the recipient,

John Morland Rice, preferred to attribute it to Romney.

On this very account, it is surely inconceivable that some crafty, fraudulent hand introduced Humphry's name onto the canvas at a later date. [i.e. between 1883 and 1910]. On the contrary, its very invisibility, along with Humphry's obscurity, suggests that these inscriptions are contemporaneous with the execution of the portrait itself.²⁷

Deirdre Le Faye's arguments as to the unlikelihood of a large oil portrait of Jane being commissioned by her great-uncle Francis, and, if it was, why it should have remained unmentioned in family correspondence, still seem hard to refute. A tempting solution to the problem – that the Rice Portrait could be a painting by Ozias Humphry of Mary Anne Campion's mother Jane before her marriage, when her name was Jane Austen – is tacitly rejected on the same grounds as for her namesake: that the girl's dress is in a style not current before the 1800s, and could therefore not have been painted by Humphry whose eyesight failed him completely in 1797. Less convincing, perhaps, is Le Faye's preferred identification of the subject as Mary Anne Campion. Even allowing for the painter's lack of mastery, the reproduced miniatures by Lethbridge of Mary Anne and her mother Jane are not wholly persuasive that Mary Anne could have grown into the girl in the Rice portrait (and still less that the girl in the Rice portrait could have grown into Mrs Campion). These miniatures themselves require fuller attributions.

Leaving aside the subject – if we can – it is worth emphasizing in this context that in the 1780s Ozias Humphry would have been an obvious portraitist for the Sevenoaks (or Lamberhurst) Austens to turn to had they wished. Humphry knew the Duke of Dorset and undertook several commissions for him; knowing the Duke to have the advowson of Seal and Kemsing he had, when the benefice fell vacant, rather impudently pleaded the case for his brother William to receive it, after which he was a frequent visitor. He had already painted Old Francis Austen in 1780 at the commission of the Duke, the evidence for this surviving in Humphry's own papers.²⁸ Finally, as we have seen, his sister-in-law Elizabeth and brother William Humphry were early recipients of the news of the death of John Austen VI's daughter Mary in 1803. Elizabeth Humphry (née Woodgate) learnt this news from Mrs Frances Woodgate (née Hooker) of Somerhill, Tonbridge, the sister of Mrs Mary Austen, whose husband the Revd Harry Austen of Tonbridge and his daughter Harriet would have heard the news directly from John VI's household.²⁹ With his own signature appearing twice in the photographs, it seems the attribution to Humphry can only be doubted if the contrary evidence suggested by the costume and the canvas retailer's name is absolutely irrefutable.

On receiving the portrait in 1883, it was a member of the Sevenoaks family who had grown up at the Old House in the 1820s to whom John Morland Rice turned. Rice received backing from his namesake the Revd Henry Morland Austen, but it has to be admitted that not all family members were unanimous.

The fact that these correspondents shared the same middle name calls for some comment. Writing to Rice, Henry Morland Austen referred to Colonel Thomas

Austen's first marriage to 'Miss [Margaretta] Morland, your mother's [Elizabeth Rice] dear friend from childhood and from whom you have your own name, as your mother told me three years ago'. This marriage, which took place in 1803, was but the first in a string of family connections between the Austens and the Morlands of Lamberhurst, traced in a recent article by Heather Dyke (herself *née* Morland).³⁰ This also established beyond doubt that Court Lodge in Lamberhurst was the home of Francis Motley Austen between about 1780 and his move to Kippington in 1796. In addition, Francis Motley is mentioned as one of the Morlands' tenants at Lamberhurst in a conveyance of 1788 by which its young owner, William Alexander Morland, sought to bar the entail. The present Court Lodge, 'formidably cubic, of grey sandstone ashlar', probably had a previous William Morland in residence by 1744. (Much later its park, and in particular Squire Morland's nine-hole golf course, was well-known to Siegfried Sassoon, who found that 'it provided very poor practice for playing anywhere else'.)³¹ In 1780, at the time Austen took occupation, its owner Thomas Morland was living in the family's Northamptonshire property, and after his death in 1784, William Alexander Morland lived with his mother in Kendal. William Alexander later became a trustee of Francis Motley's will, and the 'Morland' in Morland Austen's own name suggests at least that his own father John VII maintained the cordial relations with the Morlands that Francis Motley had had.



*Court Lodge, Lamberhurst, in 1809. By P. Amsinck.
With kind permission of Dr Heather Dyke and KHLIC.*

What seems remarkable is that all the family connections between the Morlands and the Austens *postdate* the writing of *Northanger Abbey* with its Morland protagonist. Although her Christian name was changed from Susan to Catherine for publication, it has not been suggested that her surname was changed, so it would appear to date from Jane Austen's original text of 1798-9. I have referred elsewhere to how in her fiction Austen endowed characters with surnames that had real-life associations with West Kent.³² In the case of *Emma*, at least, they fall into a pattern that can scarcely be coincidental. Family members would have recognized, and found amusement in these associations, although they were not generally with people whom Austen would personally have known. Her employment of the name Morland – *before* a family connection was established – may be another such Kent allusion. It is hard to believe she would have picked the name of this relatively obscure family without a particular reason. It suggests that she knew of Francis Motley's tenancy of Court Lodge from the Morlands: possibly even that she herself had closer relations in the 1790s with the Motley Austens than the thin surviving documentary evidence can support.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Dr Heather Dyke for her help and encouragement, and her permission to reproduce the engraving of Court Lodge, Lamberhurst.
Erratum: In *Report 2022* I incorrectly referred to the late eighteenth century extension to the Old House, Sevenoaks, as 16 High Street: it forms part of No. 18.
2. Now known as Court Lodge: Margaret Wilson, 'The Revd George Moore', *Report* for 2004, pp.360-5; Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family*. Second Edition, Cambridge, 2013, p.467.
3. Kent History Centre (KHLC), Knocker and Foskett MSS, U2490: accession 2490, boxes 12, 28, acc. 3338, box 1; John Newman, *The Buildings of England: Kent: West and the Weald*. New Haven and London, 2012, p.527; Christopher Rayner, *Sevenoaks Past, with the Villages of Holmesdale*. Chichester, 1997, p.64.
4. KHLC U1000/10 O7; U2490, acc. 3338, boxes 1-2.
5. KHLC, U2490, acc. 2490, box 28, acc. 3338, box 1.
6. John V and Francis's elder sister, Elizabeth Hooper (1695-1760).
7. CKS, Weller family correspondence, U1000/18 C1/209.
8. KHLC, U2490, acc. 2490, box 12; acc. 3338, box 1.
9. <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1336364?section=official-list-entry>
10. *Sevenoaks Chronicle*, 15 Nov 2007.
11. John Hackworth, *Sir Henry Fermor School, 1744-1994: A History*. Crowborough, 1994, pp.28-29.
12. Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*. Canterbury, 1797-1801, v.18

13. Bryan Keith-Lucas, 'Francis and Francis Motley Austen, Clerks of the Peace for Kent', in *Studies in Modern Kentish History*, ed. A. Detsicas and N. Yates. Maidstone, 1983, pp.97-9; N. Kingsley, www.landedfamilies.blogspot.com, Article 253.
14. Mark Ballard, 'Tales of Inheritance from West Kent', in *Jane Austen's Geographies*, ed. Robert Clark. New York and London, 2018, p.85; KHLIC, U681 T60.
15. D.W. Smithers, *Jane Austen in Kent*. Westerham, 1981, p.50.
16. Robert H. Goodsall, 'Eighteenth-Century account books of the Austen family', in *A Kentish Patchwork*. London, 1966, pp.17-23. Their current whereabouts are unknown.
17. KHLIC, U47/1 P19, Hasted, ii. pp.328-342.
18. KHLIC, P216/1/A/2.
19. KHLIC, U1000/1 P1.
20. Elizabeth Cairns, 'Kippington: a fortuitous discovery', in Kent Gardens Trust, *Humphry Repton in Kent*. Eynsford, 2018, pp.102-117; www.landedfamilies.blogspot.com, Article 254.
21. John Goulstone, 'Sevenoaks Vine and some Austen connections', *Report* for 2021, pp.85-6; Rayner, p.76; Cairns, p.112.
22. Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition. Oxford, 2011, no. 51, p.127. 'M^r M^y Austen' is Francis Motley.
23. It was possibly an additional cause of annoyance to Jane that her father's cousin Harry's line should thus have been remembered yet her own father's line completely ignored; but the likelihood that John VI and Harry Austen were acquainted from very early childhood in Sevenoaks may account for it.
24. Ballard, 'Tales of Inheritance', p.84.
25. Janine Barchas, 'The Énard Harp Ledgers: a correction, new Austen connections, and resource description', *Report* 2020, pp.32-38.
26. Deirdre Le Faye, 'A Literary Portrait re-examined: Jane Austen and Mary Anne Campion', *The Book Collector*, vol. 45 No. 4 (winter 1996), pp.508-525.
27. Le Faye, 'Portrait', p.519; Claudia L. Johnson, 'It speaks for itself', *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 August 2013, pp.12-13.
28. Royal Academy of Arts Archive, Humphry papers, HU 2/106, HU 4/65, quoted in Madeleine Marsh, 'Ozias Humphry and the Austens of Sevenoaks', *Report* 1985, p.351; Brian Southam, 'Old Francis Austen: the Rich Lawyer of Sevenoaks', *Report* 2006, pp.38, 41.
29. Above, *Report* 2022, pp.109-110.
30. Heather Dyke, 'Jane Austen's Family and Court Lodge: Tales from a Kentish Manor House', *Austentations*, 2013, pp.23-37.
31. KHLIC, U813 T1 (bundle C); Newman, p.350; S.Sassoon, *The Weald of Youth*. London, 1942, pp.47-53.
32. Ballard, 'Tales of Inheritance', pp.86-90.

Knights and Husbands in Hampshire and Essex

Jane Hurst

In *Chawton Manor and Its Owners*, Montagu Knight records that John Knight was succeeded at Chawton House by his brother Richard, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of John Fielder of Burrow Court, in September 1638. In fact, Richard and Elizabeth's marriage settlement was dated September 1637 and it said that their marriage was shortly to be solemnised. Elizabeth's father gave £2,000 as a jointure in case she survived her husband and a large amount of local property is listed in the settlement as well – mostly in Chawton, but also the George Inn in Alton. Richard Knight died in 1641-42, leaving a two-year-old son, also called Richard. To his wife Elizabeth, Richard left 'the use of my house in Chawton . . . to have and to hold during her widowhood, and untill my sonne Richard shall accomplish the age of one and twentie yeares, and shee soe long continue a widdow'.¹ Young Richard was to have all the goods and chattels including 'my warrelicke Armes with all the muskets, guns, pikes, and all my Amunition and Artillerie that is about my house' although Elizabeth was to have the use of the above items until Richard was of age as long as she remained unmarried.² If she did find another husband, Elizabeth was only to have some jewellery, although she was well provided for by the marriage settlement. Custody of young Richard was to go to Elizabeth with an allowance of £30 a year for his maintenance from four to ten years, £50 a year from ten to fourteen years and £150 a year from fourteen to twenty-one years.

Montagu Knight comments: 'This absence of a settled headship in the Knight family during the stirring years which followed may account for their not taking a prominent part in the Civil War.' They seem to have been loyal to the King, as 'several contributions towards the support of the beseiged garrison of Basing House' are recorded. He adds, 'Young Richard's mother Elizabeth managed his property till 1649, when she married Azariah Husbands of Hocksley [sic] Hall, Essex.'³ It is interesting to note that Elizabeth's future husband was for Parliament. He joined Lionel Copley's troop of horse (which was raised in the spring of 1643) as a junior officer. By early 1644 he was a captain in John Pickering's regiment of foot in the Eastern Association Army and he continued there when the regiment transferred to the New Model Army in Spring 1645. He then became a captain in Sidney's and Rich's New Model horse regiment and was still with them in 1649.

It seems that Elizabeth knew Azariah or one of his family at about the time of her first husband's death. In the Churchwardens' accounts is a Church Rate list for 1641-42 and the largest amount collected was: 'Rec of Mr Husbands 02:00:00'. The next year, the rate for the same property was paid by 'Mrs Knight'. Usually, a rate listed the occupier of the premises rather than the owner, so was Azariah or a relation of his the occupier of the main property in Chawton? Perhaps the Husbands were related to Elizabeth's family the Fielders, or were they friends of the Knights?

Elizabeth Knight was named in various leases of Knight property for the 1640s but, sadly, all are 'NFFP' (not fit for production) and so it is impossible to tell if she and her small son were resident at Chawton House or not. The Knights also had holdings in Sussex which might have been considered safer, or Elizabeth perhaps returned to her parents' home, leaving bailiffs or stewards to manage things.

Montagu Knight tells us that Elizabeth married Azariah Husbands in 1649. It is not clear where the couple lived at first, as their marriage does not appear in the Chawton parish registers (although there appear to be some missing entries for this period). By 1650, however, the couple and, presumably, Elizabeth's son Richard, seem to be at Chawton, at least occasionally, as Azariah was said to be 'of Chawton' in various documents although he had an annual rent out of the city of Hereford and was involved with several London gentlemen in a grant of 1653. A couple of years later, he was named as one of 'the commissioners for the county of Southampton, appointed to put in execution the orders of his highness [Cromwell] and the council, for securing the peace of the commonwealth'.⁴ Also listed were 'Coll. Richard Norton, Coll. John Fiennes esq; William Jephson esq [of Froyle]; and Edward Hayes of Bingstead [sic], esq'. These minor honours were probably to reward Azariah for his loyalty in the 1640s. The last known mention of Azariah at Chawton occurs in 1656. In the Churchwardens' accounts are the entries: 'payd to Maior Husbands for 31 foot of timber to make shingles for the Church 1 - 4 - 6; payd to Maior Husbands for the placing the poore Child 3 - 0 - 0'.⁵

Azariah and Elizabeth's father John Fielder had political interests in common, since the latter acquired Little Horkesley Hall in Essex in 1653 from the Royalist poet Sir John Denham, who had forfeited the manor in 1651. Fielder then sold it in 1660 to his son-in-law. John Fielder's Hampshire property, Burrow or Barrow (now Borough) Court in Hartley Wintney, lies seventeen miles north of Chawton. Fielder's parents bought it from John Dale in 1561, and in 1699 Elizabeth's brother Edward sold it on to Michael Tylney of Rotherwick – whose father had held several posts during the years of the Commonwealth. The complexities of Civil War allegiances often prove impossible to unravel, and although the influential families in the county of Essex tended to support Parliament, the Husbands did not originate there, but in Wormbridge, near Hereford, as Azariah's memorial in Little Horkesley church shows. Royalist support ran deep in Herefordshire, yet a considerable number of men from the city of Hereford joined the opposing army. That James Husbands gave his son the name of an idol-wrecking prophet from the Old Testament appears to hint at Puritan sympathies.

Elizabeth's removal to Essex did not weaken her interest in Chawton, as some of the property remained hers for life and she let out several houses over the years. In 1668, she leased Bushy Leaze and Stacey Leaze (eighty acres) and Hermetts Meere (three acres) to her son Sir Richard for life. Following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, he had been knighted in January 1667, despite marrying into the Parliament-supporting Reynolds family. In 1674, Elizabeth and Sir Richard exchanged some lands in Alton and Chawton and she leased Chawton Park (100 acres) to her son, again for life. Despite being married to Richard Knight for such a

short time, Elizabeth had been connected with Chawton for about forty-five years. Interestingly, when Jane Austen's brother Edward inherited Knight property in Hampshire and Kent, he also acquired a parcel of land in Essex. Did this come as a consequence of Elizabeth's marriage to Azariah Husbands? In *Jane Austen, Edward Knight, & Chawton*, Linda Slothouber notes that the 'nature of the Essex property is a matter of some speculation'⁶ but in the Appendix she refers to a possible location in the Stour Valley just below the border with Suffolk and close to Little Horkesley:

Over the entire 1816-1833 period for which I examined Knight's Goslings Bank records, deposits were made from Sparrow & Co., an Essex bank. Some of those entries include the name Thomas Blyth, Esq. – most likely a long-term tenant of a single, large Knight-owned property in that area. A man by that name farmed a property called Highfield in Langham, Essex, during the period in question.⁷

Elizabeth wrote her will in December 1683. By this time, she was living in Brentwood in Essex. Her second son, Edward Husbands, had married and set up home in Little Horkesley and it was here that Elizabeth wished to be buried 'by the remains of my late deare Husband'.⁸



*The Husbands memorial in Little Horkesley Church.
With permission of St Peter and St Paul's church.*

Bequests were left to her two daughters, Mary and Ann. These show that Elizabeth was a wealthy woman – the daughters were to have £600 between them and other items included a necklace of pearls, furniture and silver plate. The will was proved in January 1685 by Elizabeth's son, Edward Husbands. There was no mention of the Knights, as her son Sir Richard had pre-deceased her. The Hall at Little Horkesley inhabited by Azariah (until his death in 1666), Elizabeth and their three children, Mary, Edward and Ann, was replaced by a brick manor house in the early 1700s, then demolished and rebuilt in 1828.

Notes

1. Hampshire Records Office 39M89/F82/1
2. *Ibid.*
3. William Austen Leigh and Montagu George Knight, *Chawton Manor and Its Owners*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1911, pp.91-92.
4. State Papers, 1655 December.
5. HRO 1M70/PW1
6. Linda Slothouber, *Jane Austen, Edward Knight, & Chawton*. Gaithersburg: Woodpigeon Publishing, 2015, p.17, note 4.
7. *Ibid.*, p.100.
8. The National Archives PROB 11/379.

Adela Knight's Diaries

Martin Caddick

Adela Knight's diaries cast new light on the story of the Austen and Knight families in the decades following Jane Austen's death, challenging some assumptions made by several scholars. They also provide some insight into the education and life of a country gentlewoman at the time Queen Victoria came to the throne.

Adela was the second wife of Jane Austen's nephew, Edward Knight. Edward's father was Jane's wealthy brother, Edward Austen Knight, who had inherited the estates of Godmersham and Chawton.

The younger Edward had rather blotted his copybook in 1826 when he eloped with his sister's stepdaughter, Mary Knatchbull, whom he married at Gretna Green. His father sent them to live at Chawton House. Mary died in 1838 after the birth of her seventh child and two years later, Edward remarried, choosing Adela Portal as his young bride – she was twenty-one and he was forty-six.

Adela's diaries have been kept within the Knight family, and it is only recently that I was privileged to be allowed to transcribe them. They span the years between 1835 when she was seventeen, and 1851 when she was thirty-three.

When Edward Knight announced his engagement to Adela Portal in 1839, the news was not greeted with enthusiasm by his sisters in Kent. Elizabeth (Lizzy) Rice wrote:

I have no respect for nouveaux riches and take no interest in crimson velvet gowns or ruby lockets consequent upon them . . . and I have always been sorry that the family is so involved with them – any set of people where Portals are the finest must be at a lowish ebb.¹

Adela's father, John Portal, was the co-owner of a successful paper making company² based in Overton and Whitchurch, near to Steventon. Adela was not the first of her family to marry into the Knight family – her older half-sister, Caroline, had married Edward's brother, William Knight, the rector at George Austen's old livings of Steventon and Deane. Caroline's mother, Mary Corrie, was the niece of the manager of the nearby Corries Silk Mill at Overton, so, it is perhaps understandable why Jane Austen's mother is said to have then remarked 'only think of old Joe Portal's daughter marrying my grandson'.³

Lizzy's remarks about velvet gowns and rubies were oddly specific in relation to a girl she had never met – but her sister, Fanny Knatchbull (née Austen) had previously met Adela in London as Adela's diary records,⁴ and one suspects a critical account of that meeting from Fanny must have influenced Lizzy.

Fanny persisted in a dislike of Adela and her family that lasted all her life. Lizzy's daughter, Marianne, writes of 'Aunt K's inveterate prejudice about Portals' and 'At. K hating them all' as late as 1858.⁵ The Fanny that Jane Austen

had known, who was said to be her favourite niece, had been rather an endearing young lady, but the older woman she had become, married to Sir Edward Knatchbull, was rather less so. It was she who was later to describe Jane as ‘not so refined as she ought to have been’.⁶

Some of this prejudice seeps into the impression many people have of Adela today, who only see her as the lacklustre wife of the man who sold the Knight family’s beloved Godmersham Park, and who appears as an unsmiling matriarch in a few blurry wedding photographs in family albums.



*Adela Knight, undated photograph from the 1860s.
With kind permission of Andrew Bradford.*

Adela’s diaries soon reveal how wrong Edward’s sisters were in their assessment of both Adela and the Portal family. We meet characters such as ‘Uncle Melville’, ‘Uncle Henry’, and ‘Uncle Aber’, who were respectively Viscount Melville (former First Lord of the Admiralty), Sir Henry Drummond (senior partner at Drummond’s Bank), and Lord Abercromby. Adela was, in fact, far better connected than the Knights or the Knatchbells. These connections came through her mother, Elizabeth Drummond, John Portal’s second wife. The Drummonds were a banking dynasty descended from Viscount Strathallan; Adela’s cousin, the daughter of Sir Henry, later became the Duchess of Northumberland. On the side of her maternal grandmother, Ann Dundas, the family were the Lairds of Arniston. Before her marriage, Adela made several visits to her relations in Scotland, travelling from castle to castle each owned by one aristocratic connection or another. When she reached the age of eighteen, Adela was presented to King William IV and in the London season she mixed in circles that included the political élite.

The Austens and Knights also failed to appreciate the Portal side of the family. They were Huguenots who had held a barony in the south of France dating back to the twelfth century. In 1839, Adela travelled to Paris to meet the descendants of

her French relatives who had remained and survived their persecution. She was warmly welcomed by Baron Portal, who had been a senior cabinet minister in the post-Napoleonic French government. The Portals exiled in England had also done well. The Revd William Portal had been a tutor to George III; Benjamin Portal, whose eyes Jane Austen had admired,⁷ came from his family. One of 'Old Joe's' nephews was General Sir John Slade and another was General William Peachey.

It is apparent from Adela's diaries that Lizzy Rice soon realised her mistake, and her family were frequent and welcome visitors to Chawton House. In Adela's diary, 'Mrs Rice' quickly became 'Lizzy' while 'Lady K' (Fanny) never moved to such intimacy. We often hear of two of Lizzy's children in particular – Morland and Louisa. Margaret Hammond suggests that Adela's brother, Wyndham, was courting Louisa⁸, but the reality seemed to be the other way around, with Louisa staying hopefully for long periods at Chawton House. She was certainly upset when Wyndham married his neighbour, the twenty-year-old Mary Hicks-Beach, instead.⁹

Adela was brought up at Freefolk Priors, near Overton in Hampshire, which was only three miles from Jane Austen's birthplace of Steventon. The Portal family were the largest landowners in the area, owning not only Freefolk but also the impressive Laverstoke House and Ashe Park. They were part of a social set taking in the occupants of Manydown, Hurstbourne, Hackwood, Malshanger, Tangier Park, and The Vine – places and families once familiar to Jane Austen. Some of the people that Adela knew, such as Mrs Eliza Chute, were acquaintances of the Austens too. Like Jane, Adela was a frequent visitor to Ashe Rectory, once the home of Jane's friend, Mrs Lefroy, but now the home of a young curate, Mr Woodcock, and his wife, who acted as tutors on subjects as diverse as botany, 'globes', and the guitar.

Sadly, Adela never once mentioned Jane Austen or her novels in her diaries. Nevertheless, she was extremely well-read and well-educated. She was clearly an intelligent young woman and keen to learn. Her mother saw that she was educated in a manner that would allow her to move in the high-flying circles that her own family moved in. Anyone who believes that a gentlewoman's education was necessarily constrained at this time should look at what she was studying.

She learned French, German, Italian and Hebrew to a standard that allowed her to translate works in those languages into English. When her siblings' governess was ill, Adela taught them Euclidian geometry. She read a wide range of material quickly and voraciously – political speeches and tracts from different viewpoints, books of travel, history, music and architecture and the occasional novel by Scott and Dickens. She was also a capable musician, proficient on a variety of keyboard instruments and with a contralto voice. She and her friends staged small concerts playing ambitious arrangements of well-known works. Entries in her diary such as 'Played Beethoven's pastoral Symphony with Jane' are by no means rare.

Throughout the diaries, she comes across as shy and a little reserved, but conscientious and affectionate. Apart from occasional touches of condescension as a teenager (and which parent has not experienced that?), she was remarkably

unsnobbish, spending time as comfortably reading to villagers as she did in the company of senior politicians.

The more one looks into Adela's background, the more one concludes that it was not a case of Edward Knight marrying beneath himself, but rather the other way around. After Adela's court presentation in 1836, her mother sent her for long stays with her most illustrious relatives. Her aunt, Lady Melville, took to Adela and favoured her with her opinions on many matters calculated to interest a serious eighteen-year-old girl, such as 'whether prayers before or after death are of any avail' and 'the nature of the soul' and the 'possibility of creation prior to the one recorded'. Adela gleefully recorded these topics, and I suspect that Lady Melville was something of a character. At one point, Adela commented: 'Aunt M rather exceeded the bounds of moderation & the conversation became rather warm on her side – She said that implicitly believing every word in the Bible to be written under the dictation of the Spirit was a proof of credulity & ignorance.'¹⁰

Another older woman that Adela stayed in London with was Mrs Cockburn. After some digging into her background, I found that she was the wife of the founder of Cockburn's port wine business. She was born as Mary Duff and had had to put up with being the object of adoration of her father's young ward, who later wrote poems about her – he was the future Lord Byron. It was amusing to see Adela suddenly start to read his epic poems, which were not her usual choice of reading matter.

I suspect Adela's mother was 'putting her in the shop window', in the hope of attracting a suitable husband. If so, she was successful, and Adela (or her father) had to disappoint several suitors. Most of Adela's friends were older than she was. She did sometimes behave girlishly with people her age and was capable of having fun – but occasional waspish comments were directed at the more vacuous of her contemporaries, such as her neighbour, Julia St John. Some male friend or relative must have referred to her as 'the divine Julia' because thereafter Adela refers to her as 'The Divine', mimicking her words at a ball in a manner worthy of Jane Austen: 'I can't think why you don't valse – what a stupe you are – Everybody does – you're very peculiar my dear.'¹¹

When it came to finding someone that she might marry, she clearly preferred the idea of an older man whom she could respect. One suitor did stand out – a cousin of her mother – a dashing thirty-four-year-old captain in the Royal Navy named Richard Dundas. Adela was still just nineteen, and their romance reminds us of *Persuasion*. After meeting him during her stay in Scotland, he went to stay with the Portals, and followed her to London for 'the season'. They spent as much time as they could together.

Her mother, seeing this and fulfilling the role of Lady Russell, had a long conversation with Adela 'on family matters & future prospects',¹² which I suspect had something to do with the desirability of money within a marriage. Coming from a wealthy family as he did, was no guarantee that he would be automatically wealthy. Adela had seen the example of the curate at Ashe Rectory (born to the gentry) and his wife (from the Coutts banking family) who had to make ends meet

by offering their services as her tutors. Richard Dundas was the son of Viscount Melville, which helped gain him preferment in his profession, but securing a fortune was in his own hands.

In the end, late in 1837, he was obliged to take a command in the East Indies. To their mutual chagrin, 'Richard went away for good I fear'.¹³ Unfortunately, Adela had not read *Persuasion* and failed to appreciate that she should reject the subsequent advances of a local squire and wait for her love to return in eight or nine years' time. Dundas eventually became an admiral, but never married.

Adela was already known to the Knight brothers through her brother-in-law, William. In 1832, the Revd Charles Knight, who did not share his sister Fanny's prejudices, had dined at Freefolk and been impressed: 'Good M^{rs} J Portal & dearest Adela were very pleasant & sung famously.'¹⁴ William and his family were frequent visitors to Freefolk. When William's wife, Caroline, died, Adela and her mother took on her new-born baby, Louisa, for a year to help him out. Adela had met Edward Knight in passing several times before his wife, Mary, died in 1838. Edward was left with six children to raise, and as soon as the customary year of mourning was over, he started to court Adela.

Edward's courtship was no whirlwind of passionate declarations – rather a series of small thoughtful gestures that related to her interests – cuttings from his garden, books, music, for example – which showed he was paying attention to her. To his credit, he continued to do so after they were married. Adela was impressed despite, or possibly because of, the twenty-four-year difference in their ages. William Knight used the pulpit to promote his brother's cause, telling Adela and his congregation that a woman should make her way through the desert of life 'not alone, but leaning on her beloved – as a wife on her husband'¹⁵ – a sentiment that appealed to Adela.

The prospect of inheriting six children did daunt her, but she had the example of her own mother and their happy family before her, and as the eldest of the second family, she was used to dealing with younger children. And so, she accepted Edward's proposal, moving to live at Chawton House – a home she came to love.

Charles Knight, the rector at Chawton was a close neighbour and was very taken by Adela. He spent so much time with 'dear Adela' that anyone reading his diary starts to suspect his motives. However, Adela seemed very much in love with Edward, and their marriage appeared to be a happy one – she only expressed unhappiness when he was away, as when she was staying in London in March 1847: 'Miserable anniversary of our wedding day – Edw^d went to Chawton – & I was alone at the Hotel – very unhappy without him.'¹⁶ She was happiest when she was out walking or riding with Edward. For most of the diary she was healthy and active, often driving herself around the locality in her own 'pony chair'. She and Edward climbed some pretty high mountains in Wales, Scotland and the Lake District, collecting plant specimens which she recorded in a separate journal.

With the interest that most of us have in the Regency period, the sheer pace of change a little later is sometimes overlooked. Within the sixteen-year span of the



*Adela Knight portrait by Henry Weigall, 1850.
With kind permission of Richard Knight and the Knight Family
Collection at Chawton House.*

diaries, the railways arrived and the long journeys to Scotland that had taken Adela a week in horse-drawn coaches, took just two days. When in London, Adela would visit the Royal Polytechnic Institute in London to see the latest scientific displays such as ‘dissolving views’ and dioramas. She went to the Great Exhibition of 1851. There was a great influx of new plants, and she visited the London nurseries, and grew plants herself in the new Wardian cases.

Adela was religious, as most people were. These were ‘interesting times’ for the traditional Church of England. It was under pressure from evangelicals to more proactively ‘save’ souls, while the Oxford Movement was moving back towards more traditional Catholicism. Meanwhile, science was increasingly challenging literal interpretations of the Bible. Many churchmen were dabbling in science and some wrote books that sought to reconcile science and religion by asserting that the bible was often allegorical. This opened the possibility that there were deeper meanings buried within the text – leading to an interest in the prophecies that it might contain. Adela’s Uncle Henry (Sir Henry Drummond) came to believe that a second coming was imminent and founded his own evangelical church – the Catholic Apostolic Church. Neither the Knights nor the Portals subscribed to this, but Adela read a very wide range of religious books, and the latest such publications were a frequent topic of conversation between her friends.

Adela may have come from a privileged background, but she did have a strong social conscience. She shared with her old flame, Richard Dundas, an abhorrence of slavery and was concerned by the social issues raised by Charles Dickens in his novels. The Portals, the Knights and the Austens were what Disraeli would call ‘One Nation Tories’ – conservative in their outlook but believing in the social responsibilities of landowners. The Revd Charles Knight collected contributions from all the households in Chawton towards the relief of the famine in Ireland: ‘I was all day almost today going from house to house collecting subscriptions for the Irish famine. I got more than 25£ and have not yet done. I scarcely met with a refusal, and many of the poor gave very liberally.’¹⁷

Edward, meanwhile, was a member of the ‘Independent Order of Oddfellows’ – a friendly society that tried to provide mutual help within its communities, performing services that were later provided by trade unions and the welfare state.¹⁸

Adela had always taken a great interest in education, visiting schools during most of her travels. Her cousins, Maria and Emily Shirreff,¹⁹ became well-known writers and campaigners in relation to women’s education and their views no doubt informed Adela’s own. At Chawton, she was able to play an active role at the village school in both Chawton and Farringdon, putting a good deal of effort into helping to choose the teachers, providing teaching guides, testing the children, and especially in teaching music, although this mostly took the form of church psalms and chants.

Adela had nine children of her own. She was heartbroken when her eldest boy died in 1844 at the age of one: ‘My Darling little Boy died’²⁰ – her bare words and the silence that followed being as eloquent as the painful description of the death Charles wrote into his diary. It was her next son, Montagu Knight, who would inherit Chawton (and to whom Chawton House owes much of its present splendour).

The fact that Montagu superseded his older half-brothers has fuelled suspicion that perhaps Adela was not as kind a stepmother to Mary Knight’s children as she might have been. But it is not a suspicion that her diaries lend any support to. She was quite conscientious with each of them, paying attention to their education through governesses and schools, and taking them out with her on many of her excursions.

Edward’s first family did seem to have been a bit of a handful, in contrast to the sensible Monty. Two of the four boys were expelled from their schools, and a third sent down for a while for the debts he had failed to pay. The eldest, Wyndham, joined the Rifle Brigade and, at twenty, married Henrietta Armstrong, who was four years older and the daughter of a local captain in the militia at The Cape where he had been posted. He neglected to inform his family of his marriage for several months. When he returned, he was evidently in disgrace. Adela wrote, ‘Wyndham came & afterwards his wife – a wretched meeting enough’.²¹ But she hosted the couple at Chawton House for several weeks and refrained from saying anything worse – unlike the ever-tolerant members of the family in Kent who

referred to poor Henrietta as ‘The Kaffir’.

What of Jane Austen’s immediate family? Unfortunately, Adela had very little to say about them. She did see a good deal of her father-in-law, Edward Austen Knight, but disappointingly, she recorded no impressions of him whatsoever. The best we get is, ‘Drove Mr Knight out – He gave me £5 for the Farringdon school’.²²

Frank Austen and Martha came to stay several times, which seemed to have been a bit of an ordeal because Adela breathed a sigh of relief – ‘what a comfort!’²³ – when they went. She met Charles Austen a few times, without comment. She never mentioned encountering Henry Austen at all, although she met and liked his wife. However, Cassandra was often mentioned and warmly (‘dear Aunt Cass’). Cassandra still seemed to be the glue holding the wider family together. She made Adela welcome, and it was at Cassandra’s house in Chawton that Adela met many of the Austens outside Edward’s immediate family. Matters relating to the villagers were settled between Charles, Cassandra and Adela, and they often dined together at one or other of their homes. Cassandra was evidently not poverty stricken, as Adela mentioned that she had her own coach.

Of Edward’s sisters, Marianne (May) was the one with whom Adela felt most comfortable, and they spent happy hours together gardening. Adela barely knew Cassandra Knight, who married Lord George Hill. When Cassandra died, Lord George wished to marry her sister, Louisa – which was then illegal. Adela was let in on the secret of their almost illicit marriage in Denmark before it happened and was supportive of them, in fact, Adela went to the House of Lords with Lizzy’s husband to show her support for the petition for ‘Legalizing Marriages with the Sister, or other more remote Relation of a Deceased Wife’.²⁴

In early life, Adela’s health was good – she was fit and active, but nine births and at least one miscarriage took their toll. In 1848 she caught cholera and although she survived, her long-term health suffered and by 1850, she reported herself being ill one day in every four. She faced illness stoically and without any complaint, but she stopped writing her diary late in 1851. She died aged just fifty-two in 1870, nine years before Edward, and was buried in the churchyard at Chawton.

Notes

1. Margaret Hammond, *Relating to Jane*. London: Minerva Press, 1998, p.216.
2. They specialised in making paper for the new bank notes, later becoming part of De La Rue. The Hampshire mills have only just closed.
3. Kent History & Library Centre U951/C25/11. Actually, Mary was Joseph Portal’s grand-daughter. It was a remark reported years later by Caroline Austen, and may not be a completely reliable recollection.
4. Diary Vol. 2, 7 May 1839, p.48.
5. Hammond, p.306.
6. Letter from Fanny Knatchbull to Marianne Knight, 1869, quoted in Claire Tomalin, *Jane Austen, A Life*. London: Viking, 1997, p.136.

7. Deirdre Le Faye, (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition. Oxford University Press, 2011, p.2.
8. Hammond, p.289. Hammond wrongly supposes that he is Adela's nephew.
9. *Ibid.*, and Diary Vol. 4, p.87, 23 Oct 1848.
10. Diary Vol. 1, p.59, 17 Sept 1836.
11. *Ibid.*, p.73, 10 January 1837.
12. *Ibid.*, p.99, 8 May 1837.
13. *Ibid.*, p.133, 30 November 1837.
14. Charles Bridges Knight Diary, Vol. 2, 1 June 1832 (transcribed by Hazel Jones).
15. Diary Vol. 2, p.65, 7 July 1839.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p.59, 3 March 1847.
17. Charles Bridges Knight Diary Vol. 14, 22 Feb 1847 (transcribed by Peter Sabor).
18. [Independent Order of Oddfellows Manchester Unity - Wikipedia](#)
19. [Emily Shirreff - Wikipedia](#), [Maria Georgina Grey - Wikipedia](#)
20. Diary Vol. 3, p.68, 1 Dec 1844.
21. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p.148, 1 Oct 1850.
22. *Ibid.*, p.104, 21 Jan 1848.
23. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp.136-7, 27 May 1840.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, pp.60, 63, March - April 1847 [House Of Lords - Hansard - UK Parliament](#)

This article necessarily omits a great deal that I found interesting. There is much more to discover about Adela and the Knight and Portal families. I would be very interested in any information readers may have about Adela and would be equally happy to share more details from the diaries. I can be contacted at historian@chawtonhouse.org

Captain Charles Austen: Agent of British Diplomacy in South America

Sheila Johnson Kindred

Although Captain Charles Austen's principal function was to sail his ship at sea, there were occasions when his commission required him to engage in activities on land. One such occasion concerned his brief involvement in South American politics shortly after the revolution against Spanish domination on that continent. Charles's activities, on behalf of British diplomatic interests in the area, earned the gratitude of Simon Bolivar, leader of the revolution, who rewarded Charles with a magnificent ceremonial sword. The narrative of this little known period of Charles's naval career is drawn from Charles's private journal for 1827, as well as the contemporary diary of the British Consul in Caracas, Venezuela, Sir Robert Ker Porter.¹ These sources reveal a personal account of Charles's engagement in international diplomacy, so very different from what is usually read about him as a working officer in the British Navy.

On appointment to HMS *Aurora* in June 1826,² Charles's orders were to sail to the West Indies where he became second in command on the Jamaica Station. Part of his mandate was to suppress the slave trade,³ but he was also required to establish the presence of the *Aurora* in northern South American waters, as British foreign policy might require. Charles would already have some knowledge of the turbulent history of the liberation of Spain's former colonies in South America, including Simon Bolivar's military and political roles in this matter. In 1819 General Bolivar had proclaimed the independence of what are now the republics of Colombia, Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela. He thereby laid the grounds for their union as Gran Colombia, which became a reality in 1822, when the last of the Spanish authorities were driven from South America.



Map of Gran Colombia. Wikimedia Commons.

By the time Charles arrived in the West Indies, the political situation in South America had become tense and potentially explosive. With a crisis looming, Bolivar, the president of Gran Colombia, had returned to his home city, Caracas, Venezuela, in February 1827. Not only was there discontent within Gran Colombia, but a breakaway group was also trying to take Venezuela out of the union. Civil war threatened.

Britain, as the chief power in the Caribbean, wished to protect its economic and political interests in South America. In 1826, it had ratified a commercial treaty with Gran Colombia. Further, a very large debt was owed to Britain by Gran Colombia, derived from Britain's willingness to support General Bolivar financially in his fight for South American independence.⁴ It was in Britain's interest that Gran Colombia remain politically stable. Thus, in 1827, the Royal Navy stationed in Jamaica was mandated to provide assistance consistent with the political ambitions of General Bolivar, whose leadership Britain was currently supporting.⁵

Charles's entrée into the world of diplomacy began when he was asked to transport His Excellency Alexander Cockburn, the British minister to Gran Colombia from Barbados to Venezuela so he could assess the political climate there and negotiate directly with General Bolivar.⁶ From April through to June 1827, Charles was at hand, ready to transport Cockburn as required, and to take his dispatches to St Thomas and Jamaica, from where they would be sent forward to George Canning, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in England.⁷

The *Aurora* arrived at La Guayra,⁸ the port for Caracas, on 18 April. Once disembarked, Austen, Cockburn and their party began the steep mountainous route to Caracas, mounted on mules and horses. Charles mentions the 'sublime scenery', although they encountered some 'hard showers' and were 'frequently embodied in a thick mist'. They climbed steadily on a zigzag path and were finally rewarded with a fine view, which Charles described as 'the City of Caracas and the valley extending inland beyond, seen below. [It was] certainly the finest sight my eye could behold'. The party arrived thoroughly wet, happy to shelter at the home of the British Consul, Sir Robert Porter, and ready to accept the offer of dry clothes. Charles noted that Caracas at closer range looked much less enchanting than from afar. He observed: 'the city before the earthquake [of 1812] must have been a very handsome one but now it has quite the appearance of desolation.'⁹

In subsequent entries Charles describes excursions to local scenic villages near Caracas and rides in the countryside, preferably on horseback as opposed to mule. It was the rainy season in which 'a perfect torrent', 'a violent show of rain' or 'a storm descended'. Even so, Charles walked about Caracas, exploring the city and making courtesy calls with Sir Robert and Minister Cockburn. On one of these visits, Charles stopped to 'thank [Mrs Mocatta] for a little pig she promised me'. He was presumably looking forward to fresh meat to enjoy once he was back on board the *Aurora*. Much to his surprise, the animal 'turned out to be a guinea pig'.¹⁰

Cockburn and his staff made their headquarters in Caracas at the home of the

genial and hospitable, Sir Robert Porter, whose house served as a centre for intense social activity and political discussion. Charles was invited there to join other dinner guests almost every evening he was in Caracas. He enjoyed Sir Robert's generous and superior fare and he came to know members of the local English community who were closely attuned to political developments. He met, among others, Dr Thomas Cox, at whose house he was staying, Mr Morris Lievesly, Porter's private secretary, and Col Edward Stopford, who edited an English newspaper in Caracas. One of Bolivar's ADCs, Englishman Col Belford Hinton Wilson, was also a regular guest at most dinners at Sir Robert's house. Getting to know him would have given Charles an additional personal insight into Bolivar's leadership and political strategies.



Sir Robert Ker Porter by L.B. Shaw (1840). Alberto Vollmer Foundation.

The twentieth of April 1827 was a special and memorable day for Charles. Cockburn was officially presented to General Bolivar and Charles was a member of the accompanying party, which included Sir Robert Porter and ten officers from the *Aurora*. On arrival they were greeted by a Guard of Honour and the stirring sound of trumpets. At the gateway, the General's staff in full dress met the party and led them to a suite of handsome rooms, known as the great Salon of Audience. After a short wait, Bolivar appeared and 'welcomed with great suavity – as well as dignity, the British Envoy [Mr Cockburn]'.¹¹

After Bolivar and Cockburn had effusively praised Britain and Colombia

respectively,¹² the focus fell on Charles. He knew he was also to be presented to Bolivar, so he had carefully put on his full dress uniform as was fitting for the occasion. A note of pride and pleasure suffuses his description of the event: 'I was presented by His Excellency [Mr Cockburn] to the Liberator and paid my compliments in a few words of French, and then my officers were presented in succession . . . [During the conversation that followed, Bolivar] placed me at his right hand and paid me marked attention, and in truth we all left him much pleased with our reception.'¹³ Charles was now officially identified as a member of the English community that was expected to maintain good relations with Bolivar and to support his initiatives, as long as they remained consistent with British policy.



Simon Bolivar by Antonio Salas (1825). Wikimedia Commons.

Several days later, Sir Robert Porter and Minister Cockburn approached Charles with a request for his services that would bring him closer to Bolivar and give Charles an even more active role in British diplomacy. Transport would be needed to convey the Liberator, a few of his staff and a part of his bodyguard, together with Minister Cockburn, to Cartagena (a port on the northwest coast of Colombia, bordering on the Caribbean Sea). The *Aurora* was the frigate of choice for this purpose. Charles was presumably flattered to be asked to carry out such a mission. He had never had so illustrious a passenger aboard his own ship.

During the following weeks, Cockburn and Porter tried to persuade Bolivar to go immediately to Cartagena, the first stage of his journey to Bogota, capital of Gran Colombia.¹⁴ They were fearful that Bolivar's political future as President of

Gran Colombia was under threat from an ambitious rival, Vice-President General Santander. Bolivar, they thought, needed to make a personal appearance at Bogata 'in order if possible to quell the Santander party and – displace its Chief'.¹⁵ Presumably, Charles was aware of the opinions of the Minister and the Consul, but, with the timing for Bolivar's departure yet to be established, Charles carried on with other tasks. He sailed first to Les Roques¹⁶ and then on to St Thomas, carrying dispatches from both Minister Cockburn and Sir Robert.

By 1 May Charles was back in port at La Guayra, anxious to reach Caracas overland in time for a lavish feast in the dinner salon at the President's House. On this occasion, Bolivar was assisted by the Intendente, the Mayor of Caracas, four members of the High Court, three generals and his own staff. Charles was impressed by the 'knives and forks of pure gold'.¹⁷ Sir Robert admired the setting, noting the patriotic décor which featured 'allegorical paintings, touching the revolution and South America, inscriptions of battles, and other acts connected with its separation from the old world'.¹⁸ He described the menu with relish. Guests were offered

various native edible birds . . . several sorts [of fish] from La Guayra, besides turtle in various ways, and a huge land tortoise into the bargain; wild deer, the Lapa,¹⁹ or rattish Sylvan pig of the woods, and mountain pork besides. The dessert and all its sweet et cetera equalled the first and second courses.²⁰

After such an amazing spread Charles, declared himself to be 'plein gorge'.²¹ He was particularly pleased that Bolivar had 'received him in a friendly manner' and likely surprised when Bolivar had asked Charles 'if he could [transport] a horse which [Bolivar] intended to present to our Gracious King'.²²

Finally, on 19 June, Bolivar announced he would sail with Cockburn from La Guayra to Cartagena within ten to twelve days, accompanied by a bodyguard of about 150 men. Charles arrived at La Guayra on 21 June, presumably in readiness to transport Cockburn, Bolivar and his party, but meanwhile there had been an unexpected intervention. On the previous evening, Captain Chambers of the frigate HMS *Druid* (46 guns) had arrived in port, bringing orders from Admiral Charles Elphinstone Fleeming, Commander-in-Chief of the Jamaica Station. Captain Chambers had been sent to Venezuela for the express purpose of conveying President Bolivar and Minister Cockburn to Cartagena. In consequence, Charles was precluded from having 'the gratification as well as honour of being the bearer of the President to that port'.²³

Charles must have been hugely disappointed. He had already been thinking about Bolivar's comforts aboard the *Aurora* for he had altered the bathing arrangements 'in expectation of conveying General Boliva and suite to Cartagena'.²⁴ It was some consolation that on 23 June Cockburn and Charles were invited to wait upon Bolivar at the Presidential House in Caracas. There, in Sir Robert's words, the Liberator presented Charles 'with a handsome sword expressing his regret that it was not his good fortune to be Captain Austen's guest to Cartagena'.²⁵ Conceivably, Bolivar had meant to give the sword to Charles in thanks after disembarking from the

Aurora at Cartagena. Yet even though the arrangements had been changed, Bolivar appreciated Charles's supportive actions, so the sword represented a parting thank you after all.



Admiral Charles Austen with his Ceremonial Spadroon, a gift from General Bolivar, 1827. With kind permission of Jane Austen's House.

And what a splendid object it is. Charles's ceremonial sword or spadroon has

a canon-shaped cross guard and eagle-headed pommel. The loop guard is in the form of a rope, which is held in the eagle's mouth, and loops around the canon. The grip is made of carved ivory. The steel blade has been etched with decorative patterns, with gilded decoration. The scabbard has been decorated with eagle and sun motifs on one side, and on the other side is inscribed the dedication to Charles Austen from General Simon Bolivar.²⁶

The inscription has raised an unsolved mystery surrounding the sword. It reads: 'Presented to Charles John Austen, R.N. commanding HMS *Aurora* at the City of Caracas, 1st March 1827 by Simon Bolivar the liberator of his country as a mark of his esteem'. The date is puzzling as Sir Robert's diary confirms that the presentation occurred on 23 June 1827.²⁷

Subsequently, Charles brought the sword to England in November 1828 when he sailed the *Aurora* home. It has been treasured by Austen descendants ever since. Happily, the public are now able to admire the sword as it is currently on loan

to the Historic Dockyard, Chatham, Kent and is displayed there as part of the 'Command of the Ocean' exhibit.

Charles Austen remained in contact with Sir Robert Porter until he departed from South America in July 1828. Sir Robert's diary records that he 'bid adieu to one of the most worthy naval personages in Command in this quarter'.²⁸ As for General Bolivar, the rock star of the South American revolution, his political ambitions were thwarted during the years that followed. He resigned as the President of Gran Colombia in 1830 and died of tuberculosis in 1832.

Notes

1. Charles Austen, Private Journal, 1 January - 27 April 1827, HMS Aurora Jamaica Station, AUS/121 and 28 April - 31 July 1827, AUS/122 (hereafter Journal); *Sir Robert Ker Porter's Caracas Diary 1825-1842: A British Diplomat in a Newborn Nation*, ed. Walter Dupouy, 1966 (hereafter *Diary*).
2. Charles's appointment to HMS *Aurora* (38 guns) came about under unusual circumstances. He was on half pay in Plymouth in 1826, hoping for a commission which would return him to active sea service. (Charles had not been at sea since his frigate, HMS *Phoenix* (36 guns) was wrecked in a terrific storm off the coast of Cesme, Asia Minor, in February 1816.) Learning, by chance, that Captain Maxwell of HMS *Aurora* had died suddenly just as the ship was about to sail to the West Indies, Charles immediately made his availability known to the Admiralty, who agreed to commission him as the new captain. He sailed four days later on 3 June.
3. Britain and the United States had abolished the slave trade in 1807-08, followed by France and Spain, but the trade was still going on in a clandestine manner. See Clive Caplan, 'The Ships of Charles Austen', *Jane Austen Society Report for 2009*, p.153. On 29 August 1826, Charles captured the Spanish slave brigantine, *Nuevo Campeador*, which was sent for adjudication to the British and Spanish Mixed Court of Justice, Havanna and sentenced to be condemned. See Devoney Looser, 'Heroics All at Sea,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 July 2022.
4. In 1826 the principal on Gran Colombia's debt came to nearly seven million dollars. See William Armstrong, 'British Representation in Venezuela in 1826', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 1960, Vol. 6, no.1, n.9, p.23.
5. According to Brian Southam, 'in this power struggle, the support for Bolivar visible in the British naval presence was crucial'. See *Jane Austen and the Navy*, 2nd edition, National Maritime Museum, 2005, p.177 (hereafter *Navy*).
6. According to Southam, Cockburn was 'sent from England to strengthen British ties with an area of South America judged worthy of cultivation and alliance'. See *Navy*, p.177.
7. He also took dispatches for Sir Robert Porter, British Consul in Caracas.
8. The modern spelling is La Guaira.
9. Journal, 18 April 1827.
10. Journal, 13 May 1827.

11. *Diary*, 20 April 1827, p.239.
12. *Ibid.*, According to Sir Robert, Bolivar, speaking in French, praised Britain, its King, Ministers and 'virtuous magnanimity in the Cause of Liberty, not only for the support it lent Colombia during her struggle but also for the firm aid she had afforded to the young Country since her regeneration'. Mr Cockburn had already emphasized the 'personal attachment the King of Great Britain entertained for [Bolivar]' as did her ministers and Nation at large, Bolivar being regarded as the founder and giver of Independence to South America and the unspoken savior of Colombia'. Cockburn also assured Bolivar of 'the cordial and unceasing friendship of England.'
13. Charles had already caught a glimpse of Bolivar on 19 April, which was the seventeenth anniversary of Colombian Independence. In honour of the day, Bolivar attended High Mass at the cathedral. Charles happened to be passing by and slipped into the church. He found the décor 'gaudy' but 'the service with the music imposing.' (Journal, 19 April 1827.) Charles could see Bolivar standing by the high altar and described his expression as a 'thoughtful and almost melancholy cast of countenance'. On the occasion of his presentation, Charles described Bolivar as 'a small man with a fine countenance . . . I should take him to be about 45 years of age, though his dark hair is very lightly touched with grey'. (Journal, 20 April 1827.)
14. Sir Robert's diary entries for April into July provide more detail about the perpetually changing political situation within Gran Colombia. He speculated about Bolivar's most effective political course of action. Sir Robert also assessed the level of threat posed by Bolivar's political opponents. (See *Diary*, pp.232-266.)
15. *Diary*, 25 April 1827, p.240.
16. Los Roques consists of 350 islands, which lie about 160 km west of La Guaira.
17. Journal, 1 May 1827.
18. *Diary*, 1 May 1827. Charles was impressed by 'a group of Colombian, British and American flags painted at the head of the room, [with] all the Liberator's great Battles written in Festoons under the corners'. (Journal, 20 April 1827.)
19. A large South American rodent.
20. *Diary*, 1 May 1827, p.243.
21. Meaning he felt stuffed.
22. Journal, 1 May 1827. During this conversation, Charles records that he 'blundered in my French and was annoyed'.
23. *Diary*, 22 June 1827, p.259.
24. Journal, 9 May 1827.
25. *Diary*, 23 June 1827, p.260.
26. My thanks to the sword's owner, David Willan, for this fine, detailed description.
27. *Diary*, 23 June 1827, p.260. The presentation could not have occurred on 1 March 1827. Charles's Journal relates that he was in the Caribbean, not in

South America. He spent the day at a Dockyard (most likely Antigua). That evening he entertained guests for dinner. The party, which included Captain Wilson of the 93rd Regiment (who was stationed in Antigua), ended with ‘cards and liquors in the after cabin [of the *Aurora*]’. (Journal, 1 March 1827.)

28. *Diary*, 5 July 1828, p.392. According to Sir Robert, Captain Austen ‘promised in person to deliver [my recent drawing of General Paez] at Esher [the home of his novel writing sisters, Jane and Maria]’. Charles had read Maria’s novel, *Honor O’Hara*, in Caracas in April 1827. He would presumably be happy to complete this commission when he could. Apparently both Porter sisters were intrigued to know about their brother’s interactions with General Paez and General Bolivar. According to Devoney Looser, Jane loved the gifts that ‘Robert sent home from the Americas, including items said to be Bolivar’s (a ribbon, hair), General Paez (hair)’. See Devoney Looser, *Sister Novelists: The Trailblazing Porter Sisters Who Paved The Way For Austen And The Brontes*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022, p.378.

Jane Austen and her Publishers

Chris Browne

Four publishers, in my opinion, have made the greatest contribution to the publication history of Jane Austen; their importance to us, as today's readers and collectors of Jane Austen, is invaluable.

Thomas Egerton

Jane Austen's first published work was *Sense and Sensibility*, published at the author's expense by Thomas Egerton in November 1811 in three volumes for fifteen shillings. The size of the first edition has been estimated to be between 750 and 1,000 copies, and we know that they were all sold by 3 July 1813, when Jane recorded in a letter to her brother Francis that she had made a profit of £140 and still retained the copyright.¹

Thomas Egerton is a famous name in English history, but not particularly in publishing, except for the association with Jane Austen. A Thomas Egerton (1540-1617) was the Lord Chancellor to King James I. He was ennobled as Viscount Brackley and Lord Ellesmere and gave rise to a dynasty of Egertons within the English nobility. Pictures of this Thomas Egerton can be often found online, mislabelled as a portrait of the publisher of Jane Austen, even though he had died almost 200 years before she was first published. Other notable Thomas Egertons have been a wine merchant (1713-1756) and the 1st and 2nd Earls of Wilton (1749-1814 and 1799-1882), both politicians. None of them was engaged in publishing. However, there was one Sir Thomas Egerton from this family who was important in English publishing history. He revised the laws and regulations under which the Company of Stationers operated.

Thomas Egerton, the first publisher of Jane Austen, was born on 19 December 1748 in Cripplegate, London and was baptised on 17 January 1749 at St Giles, Cripplegate, which can still be found today, surrounded by the brutalist nightmare which is London's Barbican Centre. The church was one of the few City of London churches to survive the Great Fire of 1666. It was largely destroyed in the Blitz of December 1940, but was restored after the war. Thomas Egerton the publisher was the oldest son of another Thomas Egerton (1720-1783), a cordwainer or shoemaker, who lived most of his life in the parish of Cripplegate, and Jane Pamplen (1725-1800) who was buried in St Giles, along with such notables as Martin Frobisher and John Milton.

Thomas Egerton the publisher was the oldest of seven children. His nearest sibling in age was his brother John Egerton (1752-1795), with whom he went into business as publishers and booksellers in 1782. The fifth sibling James Egerton (1757-1828) became a cordwainer, like his father and grandfather, and was the only Egerton brother to produce legitimate children, who were to become the main beneficiaries of Thomas Egerton the publisher's will.

Thomas and John Egerton brought a well-established publishing and bookselling business from its owner, John Millen (1700-1784) on Millen's retirement in 1782. This was the Whitehall Military Library, operated by Millen from 1727 until his retirement. The business was located at 32 Charing Cross, just north of Whitehall. It was directly opposite the Admiralty building, on the west side of the junction of Whitehall and Charing Cross. The Egertons are recorded as operating the business at that same address from 1782 until 1802. From 1810 onwards, the address for the Whitehall Military Library is consistently given as 30 Charing Cross. Whether this represents a move next door, or a renumbering of the buildings is not clear.

The Egerton family did not appear to have much prior experience in the book trade; the only link that I can find before the two brothers purchased the Whitehall Military Library is the mention in the Stationers' Company records of a Thomas Egerton serving an apprenticeship. On 11 October 1783, John Egerton married Mary Davis (1748-1828), the daughter of a well-established bookseller and printer Lockyer John Davis (1719-1791). Lockyer Davis's business was over Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, where he was printer to the Royal Society. How John Egerton and Mary Davis met is not known but their acquaintance might suggest that the Egerton brothers were known in the book trade prior to 1782. Interestingly, two of Mary Davis's siblings became beneficiaries of Thomas Egerton's will of 1830, although none are mentioned in John Egerton's will of 1794.

The only direct description that we have of the Whitehall Military Library comes from John Millen's time. It was written by the antiquarian Richard Gough in March 1772:

On my return from Westminster last night, I penetrated the utmost recesses of Millen's shop, which, if I may borrow an idea from natural history, is incrustated with literature and curiosities like so many stalactitical exudations. Through a narrow alley, between piles of books, I reached a cell . . . whose sides were so completely cased with the same . . . that the fireplace was literally *enchâsse dans la muraille*.

In this cell sat the deity of the place, at the head of a whist party, which was interrupted by my inquiry after Dillenius in sheets. The answer was, he "had none in sheets or blankets." . . . I emerged from this shop, which I consider as a future Herculaneum, where we shall hereafter root out many scarce things now rotting on the floor, considerably sunk below the level of the new pavement.²

The reference to 'Dillenius in sheets' refers to unbound pages of Johan Dillenius's *Hortus Elthamensis*, a standard work on the botany of the London region, published in 1732. The Whitehall Military Library must have been quite chaotic in Millen's time.

John and Thomas Egerton operated the Whitehall Military Library until John's death in 1795 at the age of forty-three. Thomas Egerton ran the business alone from 1795 until his retirement in 1826, when he sold it to his assistant Francis Pinkney, who ran it from 1827 until his own death in 1844. The Whitehall Military Library seems not to have operated after that date.

There are two factors that explain the perhaps unusual choice of Egerton

as the first publisher of Jane Austen. They both relate to Jane's brother Henry Austen, who acted as her literary agent. Henry had been a student at St John's College, Oxford, where he had joined his older brother James. James and Henry had collaborated in running a weekly literary journal called *The Loiterer*. It was published by a local Oxford publisher/bookseller called C. S. Rann, but the Austen brothers had engaged the Egerton brothers as their London distributor, along with other booksellers as local distributors based in Birmingham, Bath and Reading. Secondly, when Henry's academic life ended in 1793, he became an officer in the Oxfordshire Militia, and then, in 1801, he started a banking business based in London that specialised in financial transfers between Whitehall and various regiments in the counties. In this role, which he maintained until the bank's failure in 1816, he would have become very familiar with the Whitehall Military Library and Thomas Egerton.

We know something of the stock in trade of Thomas Egerton from two surviving lists of library sale items that Egerton produced, and, in a remarkable Australian connection, the British Library has a surviving receipt for books purchased in August 1815 from Thomas Egerton by Lachlan Macquarie, the Governor of New South Wales. Most of the titles sold or published by Egerton were military or factual accounts of travel or geography. It seems that *Sense and Sensibility* was the first novel to be published by Thomas Egerton, although he had already published a few poetry books at their authors' expense. Perhaps that experience led to the arrangement with the Austen family for the publication of *Sense and Sensibility*, by 'A Lady', and at her financial risk, although it must have been Henry or his bank that effectively underwrote the production of Jane's first published novel.

Following the success of the sales of the first edition of *Sense and Sensibility*, Thomas Egerton seems to have been emboldened, as he proceeded to purchase the copyright of Austen's next manuscript, now famously 'lopt & cropt' by its author³ and renamed *Pride and Prejudice*, a phrase that she must have noticed on page 303 in the final volume of the first edition of Fanny Burney's *Cecilia*, a book she was clearly familiar with. We know that Austen was happy to sell the copyright; in her letter to Martha Lloyd of 29-30 November 1812, she reported:

P. & P. is sold.— Egerton gives £110 for it. —I would rather have had £150, but we could not both be pleased, & I am not at all surprised that he should not chuse to hazard, so much.—Its' being sold will I hope be a great saving of Trouble to Henry, & therefore must be welcome to me.⁴

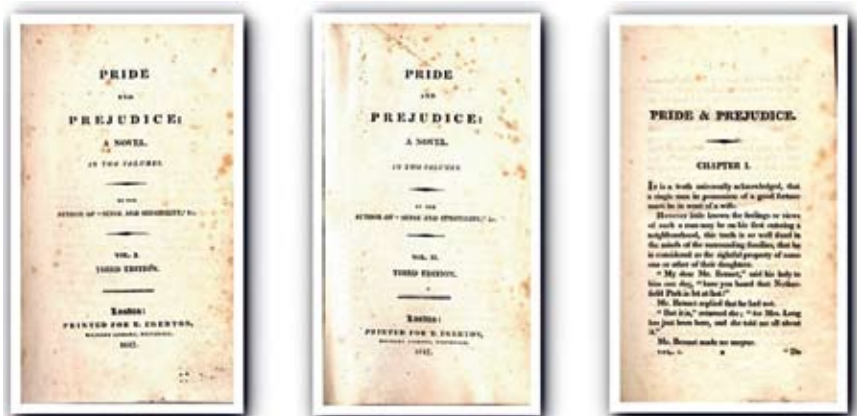
This passage almost certainly confirms that Henry Austen or his bank had taken the financial risk with *Sense and Sensibility*, and that Jane was pleased not to have exposed him to further risk with her second book. She need not have worried, as the 1,000 copies of the three-volume, first edition of *Pride and Prejudice* sold out very quickly in the first half of 1813, even at the increased price of eighteen shillings. By November 1813, Egerton had printed and published second editions of both novels, this time describing the second edition of *Sense and Sensibility* as

‘By the author of *Pride and Prejudice*’, rather than as ‘By A Lady’.

Following these successes, it was Henry and Jane who were now emboldened. Her third novel, *Mansfield Park*, was published at the Austens’ expense so that ownership of the copyright could be retained. Her confidence must have been greatly enhanced by the good sales of her first two novels. The first edition of *Mansfield Park* was published in three volumes at eighteen shillings on 10 May 1814, as an edition of 1,250 copies, which were all sold by 18 November 1814. On 30 November, Jane wrote to her niece Fanny Knight that she and Henry were to visit Egerton later that day to ask him to ‘hazard a 2^d Edition’.⁵ In the event, Egerton declined.

Henry and Jane had become dissatisfied with Egerton, both because of his lack of interest in a new edition of *Mansfield Park*, and because of the rather poor-quality paper that had been used to print the Egerton editions. They decided to look elsewhere for a publisher. In order to pursue this, Henry Austen visited John Murray at 50 Albemarle Street, less than one mile from Thomas Egerton’s premises at 30 Charing Cross.

Egerton, however, was not entirely finished with Jane Austen. Sometime in August or September 1817, presumably on finding out that Jane had died in July, Egerton issued a third edition of *Pride and Prejudice* in two volumes for twelve shillings, printed rather carelessly on even poorer quality paper than he had used before. The text had accumulated errors in both the second and third editions, as Egerton produced them both with no input from the Austen family. This flawed version of the text was used in almost all the subsequent editions of *Pride and Prejudice* for the next 100 years. He also reorganised the text into a pattern of chapters for the third edition which was similarly adopted. In the second volume, Egerton managed to misnumber the chapters, so that they ran from 1-11, followed by 13-29, omitting a chapter 12. This was corrected in subsequent editions issued by other publishers, but the text remained flawed until 1923.



The Third Edition of Pride and Prejudice (2 vols), Thomas Egerton 1817.

The John Murray Publishing Dynasty

The firm of John Murray, which became a major presence in the publishing industry of London, was established in 1768 by a Scot from Edinburgh, John McMurray, who had been an officer in the Royal Marines. He changed his name from McMurray to Murray to make it sound less Scottish, which seems rather strange in hindsight when one considers that most of the eminent publishing houses in London in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries were founded by Scots. Ballantyne, Black, Blackwood, Blackie, Collins, Constable, Chambers, Macmillan, Nelson, Smith Elder, and of course John Murray, all Scottish, dominated British publishing for more than 100 years. Even the Cumbrian, George Routledge, born within sight of Hadrian's Wall, had a Scottish father.

The Murray publishing dynasty is rightly named, as it was a family-controlled business run by seven successive John Murrays, who between them had a huge impact on the London book trade. They are traditionally numbered, just like a royal lineage, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. The John Murray publishing dynasty

Name:	Lived:	Landmarks:
John Murray I	1745–1793	Founded the firm in 1768
John Murray II	1778–1843	Austen, Byron, Scott
John Murray III	1808–1892	Darwin, Lyall, Livingstone
John Murray IV	1851–1928	Queen Victoria, Conan Doyle, Hardy
John Murray V	1884–1967	Made the firm a limited company
John Murray VI	1909–1993	Betjeman, Fermor, Lancaster, Stark
John Murray VII	1941	Sold the firm to Hodder in 2002

The publisher approached by Henry Austen was John Murray II, the son of the founder. He had inherited a struggling business from his rather dissolute father and had begun to establish its reputation by the recruitment of Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott to his stable of authors. When Murray published the first part of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in 1812, the first edition sold out in three days. Byron's comment on this was 'I awoke one morning and found myself famous'. Murray went on to sell 20,000 copies of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, the highest sales for any book of poetry in the nineteenth century.

In 1812, John Murray II moved the business, and his home, from its original premises at 30 Fleet Street to 50 Albemarle Street in Mayfair, where it remained for the rest of its existence. His drawing room became one of the most important meeting places in the literary world of London. It was famously depicted in a

painting made in 1815, with Scott and Byron shown standing in conversation in the right foreground. In that same year, John Murray II was visited at 50 Albemarle Street by Henry Austen.



*The drawing room at 50 Albemarle St, 1815.
Painting by L. Werner (c.1850). Creative Commons.*

Each of the seven John Murrys contributed to the development of the business. Under John Murray III, the publishing focus turned towards science and exploration, with the acquisition of authors such as Charles Darwin, Alfred Russell Wallace, Charles Lyall and David Livingstone. In 1859, John Murray III received a letter from a prospective author which contained the following passage:

It may be conceit, but I believe the subject will interest the public, & I am sure that the views are original. If you think otherwise, I must repeat my request that you will freely reject my work; & though I shall be a little disappointed I shall be in no way injured.

The author was Charles Darwin and the book was *On the Origin of Species*. Both the letter and the manuscript of the book are held in the extensive John Murray archive, which was sold by John Murray VII to the National Library of Scotland.

If John Murray II presided over the first golden age of the firm, then John Murray VI presided over the second golden age, when Murrys became one of the leading publishers of the mid- and late-twentieth century. John Murray VI, like the founder of the firm, was not born John Murray, and was in fact the nephew of John Murray V, who had never married. He was invited to take over the firm if he changed his name by deed poll from John Jock Arnauld Robin Grey, his birth name, to John Murray, which he agreed to do, although he was usually called Jock

Murray for most of his life. Jock Murray recruited many leading authors to the Murray list, including the poet John Betjeman, the humourist Osbert Lancaster, and the two leading travel writers of the twentieth century, Freya Stark and Patrick Leigh Fermor. Indeed, with Betjeman's *Collected Poems* of 1958, Jock matched the feat of John Murray II with Byron's *Childe Harold*, by selling a staggering two million copies, making the Betjeman collection the greatest selling British poetry book of the century. Only the poetic works of Kipling have outsold the lifetime output of Betjeman.

Jane Austen and John Murray II

It was probably Henry Austen who, in October 1815, approached John Murray II about becoming Jane Austen's publisher. Later in the same month, Murray offered Jane Austen £450 for the copyrights of *Sense and Sensibility*, *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*. Jane was initially inclined to accept Murray's offer, but Henry objected that it was too cheap, and encouraged his sister to retain the copyrights, as she had already made more from the first editions of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Mansfield Park*.

An agreement was eventually reached with Murray and *Emma* was duly published in an edition of 2,000 on 23 December 1815. The second edition of *Mansfield Park*, of 750 copies, was published by Murray on 19 February 1816. It is interesting that John Murray is on record as questioning the small number of copies (1,250) published by Egerton for the first edition of *Mansfield Park*, but he only published 750 copies in his second edition, fewer than the number that Egerton had issued for the second editions of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*.

As the John Murray archives have survived, we know quite a lot about the economic details of the editions of Austen's novels. It is also interesting to speculate that if the Austens had sold the copyright of *Emma* to John Murray, then the manuscript might have survived in the Murray Archive, rather than being lost by the Austen family. From the Murray records, we know that 2,000 copies of *Emma* were printed at a cost of around £500. Murray set the initial price for the three-volume set at twenty-one shillings; he sold 351 copies to the book trade for fifteen shillings and sixpence in December 1815, a common practice among London publishers and booksellers to help to share the risk. Murray himself had sold 897 copies at the full price of twenty-one shillings by October 1816, and it is estimated that the edition 'broke even' when 280 copies had been sold in this way – a very successful result. However, there were still 565 unsold copies in Murray's stocks in December 1818, of which 539 copies were still unsold in January 1820. At this time, they were remaindered for two shillings each and seemed to have been quickly sold off.

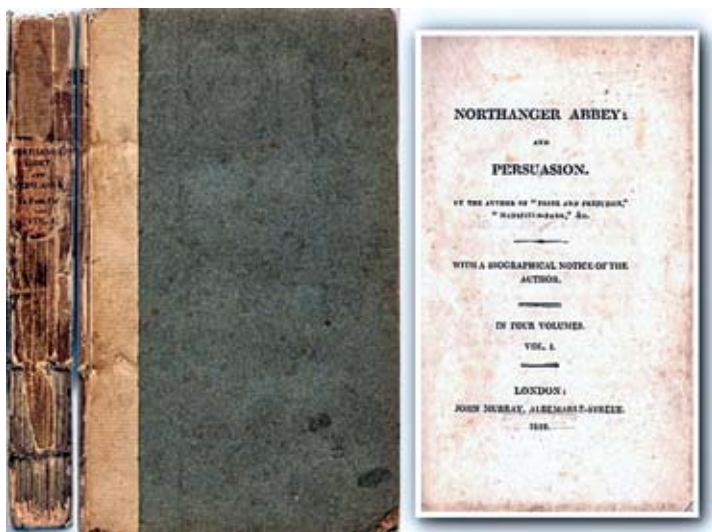
This little history shows the importance of currency in nineteenth century publishing; books sold well when they were perceived to be new, but would lose their appeal after a few years. This explains why the date on the title page of the first edition of *Emma* is printed as 1816, even though we know it was published

in December 1815. That title page also is unusual in that the publisher's address, which should have been 50 Albemarle Street, does not appear, although it is present on several books published by Murray earlier in 1815.

The story of the second edition of *Mansfield Park* was not so happy. Murray printed 750 copies at a cost of around £240. They were offered for sale from February 1816 at eighteen shillings. By December 1817, Murray still had 588 copies unsold, even at the reduced price of eleven shillings and sixpence. Just over a year later, in January 1819, there were still 541 copies unsold at the even lower price of ten shillings and sixpence. In January 1820, Murray still had 498 copies unsold, which were remaindered at two shillings and sixpence.

What all this means is that the profits made initially from the good sales of *Emma* were greatly reduced by the failure of *Mansfield Park*. This is shown by a surviving cheque from John Murray paid to Jane Austen on 21 October 1816 for the initial payments owed to her, which only totalled £38.18s.1d. Perhaps Thomas Egerton had been wise after all, when he decided not to publish a second edition of *Mansfield Park*.

Following Jane Austen's death, Henry offered the manuscripts of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* to John Murray on behalf of Cassandra, to whom Jane's manuscripts had been bequeathed. Murray printed 1,750 copies which were published in four volumes at twenty-four shillings on 20 December 1817, but dated 1818. The posthumous edition did very well as 1,409 copies were sold at the full price by December 1818. The final 282 copies were sold at a reduced price by 1820. In all, a final profit of £515.17s.7d was paid by John Murray to Cassandra in early 1821.



First volume of the first edition of Northanger Abbey in the original publisher's binding. There are perhaps only three or four surviving copies of this very fragile volume in this state.

All of Jane Austen's six published novels were out of print in Britain by the end of 1820. There are letters in the John Murray Archive from Cassandra Austen to John Murray II about possible new editions in the 1820s, but not one was published. It would be a further twelve years before another British publisher would show an interest in Austen's writing.

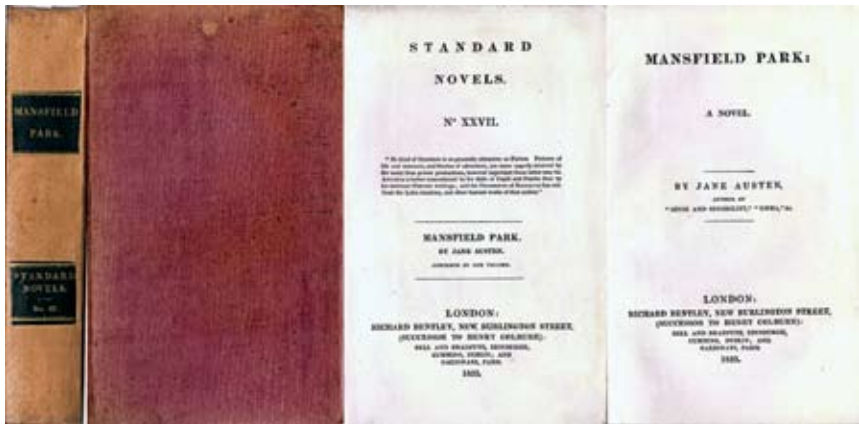
Richard Bentley and the Jane Austen Revival

The great fifteen-year hiatus in publishing British editions of Jane Austen's novels, lasting from December 1817 until November 1832, could have resulted in the permanent loss of the author from British literary consciousness. Five of her six novels were published in 2,000 copies or fewer, with *Pride and Prejudice* perhaps resulting in around 2,500-3,000 copies in total across the three Egerton editions. In a very real sense, it was Richard Bentley who saved Jane Austen for posterity.

Richard Bentley (1794-1871) was twenty-three years old when Jane Austen died in 1817. Two years later, he started a publishing and bookselling business with his brother Samuel, which operated, with no great success or distinction, for the next ten years. This was followed in 1829 by a publishing partnership between Richard Bentley and Henry Colburn, the man who was to go on to publish Fanny Burney's diaries. Colburn & Bentley, as the firm was styled, lasted for fewer than four years, and broke up in 1832, with the two men not on speaking terms. However, in 1831, they started a Standard Novels series, where they republished previously successful books that were currently out of print, for six shillings each in single small volumes. When Colburn and Bentley broke up, the rights for the Standard Novels series passed to Richard Bentley.

In his search for more books to issue in the Standard Novels series, now renamed Bentley's Standard Novels, Bentley approached the Austen family to ask if he could purchase the copyrights of the six published novels. By July 1832, he bought the five Austen copyrights owned by Cassandra Austen for £210. He was directed to Egertons for the copyright for *Pride and Prejudice*, and eventually purchased it for £40 from Francis Pinkney, Egerton's successor as the owner of the Whitehall Military Library.

Richard Bentley published *Sense and Sensibility* as his first Austen title in the Standard Novels series in December 1832 for six shillings. By July 1833, he had published the remaining five novels, with *Pride and Prejudice* the last to be published, probably due to the later acquisition of the copyright. Bentley published *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in a single volume, a tradition that was to be followed in every British edition until 1895. Now, all six novels could be purchased in five volumes for six shillings each. The Bentley editions of Jane Austen were the first English editions to print her name as author on the title pages and the first to have any illustrations, albeit limited to a frontispiece and a small vignette in each volume.



The first Bentley edition of Mansfield Park in the original binding.

Each of Bentley's Standard Novels also has a frontispiece and an engraved title page which has a small vignette illustration and an engraved date. In my first Bentley edition of *Pride and Prejudice*, the frontispiece shows Elizabeth Bennet with her father in his library and the vignette shows the confrontation between Elizabeth and Lady Catherine de Bourgh. The costumes are in the style of the 1830s rather than 1800. The engraved title page also bears the date 1833, but there is a caveat for collectors of the Bentley editions of Jane Austen. The same engraved frontispieces and title pages that were used in Bentley's 1833 editions were reused in all the subsequent Bentley editions up to 1870. That means that these later books have both a letterpress title page that shows their true date of publication and the engraved title page which always bears the 1833 date.



The frontispiece (left) and title page vignette of Pride and Prejudice, 1833.

In addition, Bentley also sold the six novels as a five-book set, under the umbrella title *The Works of Miss Austen*, for thirty shillings.

Table 2 presents the number given to each Jane Austen volume by Bentley in his Standard Novels series, the date of publication of the first Bentley edition and the original first edition and the copyright expiry dates for the six novels.

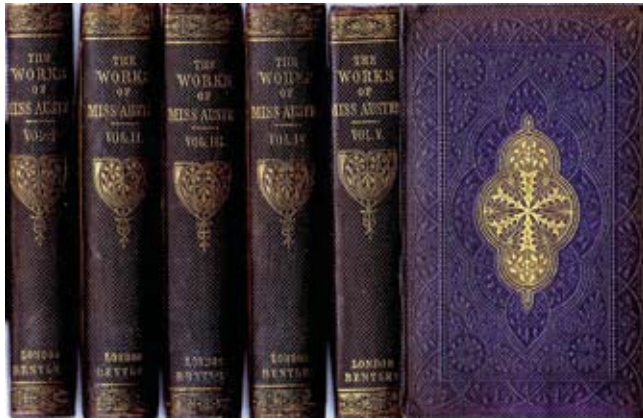
Table 2. Richard Bentley's Standard Novels and their copyright expiry dates

Title of Novel	No.	Bentley ed	1st Edition	Copyright to
<i>Sense and Sensibility</i>	23	Dec 1832	1811	1839
<i>Pride and Prejudice</i>	30	July 1833	1813	1841
<i>Mansfield Park</i>	27	Apr 1833	1814	1842
<i>Emma</i>	25	Feb 1833	1815	1857
<i>Northanger Abbey</i>	28	May 1833	1818	1860
<i>Persuasion</i>	28	May 1833	1818	1860

Copyright in Britain had been established by the *Statute of Anne* in April 1710. It allowed for the exclusive right to print and publish a book for fourteen years following the date of first publication. The copyright period could be extended by the addition of another fourteen years following an application by the copyright owner. This gives us the copyright expiry dates for the first three Austen novels. However, Richard Bentley was most fortunate in 1842 when a new copyright Act came into effect. The Act of 1842 set the term of copyright to seven years after the author's death or forty years after the date of first publication, whichever was the longer period. This only applied to works still under copyright. This meant that the copyrights for the last three novels were extended: to 1857 for *Emma*, and 1860 for the two posthumous novels. Bentley was fortunate with *Emma*, as the copyright was due to expire in 1843 under the *Statute of Anne*, but unlucky with *Mansfield Park*, where the copyright had expired in 1842. *The Copyright Act 1842* was eventually superseded by the later copyright Acts of 1911, 1956 and 1988, the latter being the current copyright Act for the United Kingdom.

The effect of the 1842 Copyright Act was that anyone in Britain could now publish the first three Austen novels, but only Richard Bentley could publish the last three, and critically, only Richard Bentley could publish the *Complete Works of Jane Austen* during the years 1842 to 1860. Bentley exploited his copyrights most successfully by continuing to publish individual Austen titles in his Standard Novels series and also publishing five volume sets of *The Works of Miss Austen*. These sets of the works were issued in 1833, 1853, 1856, 1866 and 1882.

After 1860, all the Austen novels were out of copyright and other publishers could now compete with Richard Bentley. However, in 1869, Bentley had a large slice of luck. He was approached by James Edward Austen-Leigh, the nephew of Jane Austen, who, with the help of several of his cousins, had produced *A Memoir of Jane Austen*, in which stories, memories and family traditions about Aunt Jane had been collected. The family must have thought well of the Bentley editions to approach Richard Bentley about publishing the *Memoir*, which he did in December 1869, although it was dated 1870 on the title page, following the normal practice.



Richard Bentley set of The Works of Miss Austen published in 1856. The splendid binding by Westleys & Co was specifically designed for this set.



The new Bentley editions of Jane Austen from the 1870s.

There is now an extra book in the set, which is erroneously labelled *Lady Susan* on the spine. It does contain an extract of *Lady Susan*, a work that had yet to be published. It was meant to be labelled *A Memoir of Jane Austen* on the spine, which is the title given on the title page. This is the second edition of the *Memoir*. The first edition and all later editions have the correct title on the spine.

Including the *Memoir* in all the future sets published meant that Bentley again had the sole rights for a complete set of Jane Austen. The copyright of the *Memoir*, which expired in 1912, would outlast the firm. Richard Bentley died in 1871, but the firm continued to publish editions of Jane Austen until 1886. It was now run by Richard's son George Bentley, using the trade name of Richard Bentley and Son. The final Bentley edition of *The Works of Miss Austen*, 'The Steventon Edition', was published in 1882. In 1898, the year of George Bentley's death, the firm was sold by George's son Richard to Smith Elder Ltd.

Another publisher deserves a quick mention here. George Routledge started his Railway Library in 1848, reprinting books at one shilling in cheap papered boards or as cloth bound books at one shilling and sixpence for sale at W.H. Smith bookstalls, found on railway station platforms all over Britain. The replacement of stagecoaches and horse-drawn carriages by the railway system offered passengers a smooth ride which allowed them to read. Routledge published his cheap editions of the first two Austen novels in 1849, followed by *Mansfield Park*, *Emma* and *Northanger Abbey/Persuasion* in 1857. The publication by Routledge of *Northanger Abbey/Persuasion* at that time was a breach of Bentley's copyright. Nonetheless, these were the first cheap English editions of Jane Austen. They were the Penguins of their time.

Robert Chapman and the Oxford editions of Jane Austen

Following the printing of the first book at Oxford in 1478, the publishing arm of the University had been formally established in 1586 as the publisher of academic works and bibles specifically for the University. It took its name from the Clarendon Building, in which it operated until 1830, when it moved to Walton Street in Jericho. It remained in this role as University publisher until the First World War.

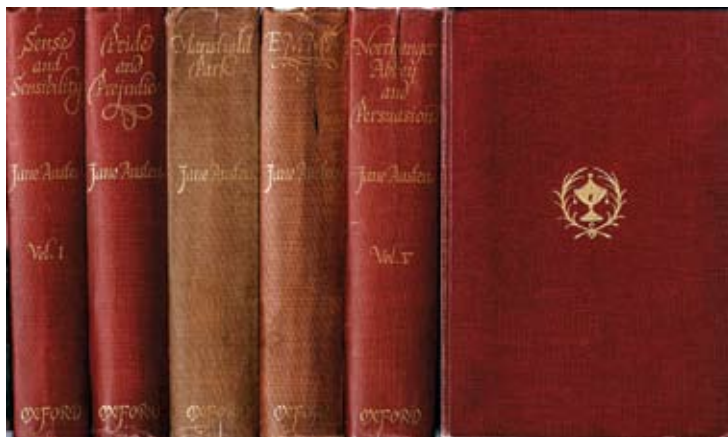
In 1920, Oxford University appointed Dr Robert William Chapman (1881-1960), a forty-year-old English Literature academic, to be the new Secretary of the Clarendon Press, the publishing house owned by the University. I cannot imagine a more brilliant opportunity for an academic returning to his university after the war than being given control of the foremost academic publishing house in Britain, if not the world. Chapman managed the Press well, and took full advantage of the personal publishing opportunities that it afforded him in building his academic career.

Chapman was aided in his endeavours by Humphrey Milford, appointed publisher to the University in 1913. Milford, later Sir Humphrey Milford, held this position until 1945. Working closely together, Chapman and Milford instigated a process of change that transformed the narrowly-focused Clarendon Press into the much larger and more diverse Oxford University Press.

In the years before his war service, Chapman had developed a research interest in Jane Austen, largely stimulated by the work and interests of a young academic tutor from Somerville College, Katharine Marion Metcalfe (1887-1978), who had, in 1912, published a new and revised edition of *Pride and Prejudice* put together following her scrutiny of the three Egerton editions. Chapman and Metcalfe married in 1913, and Metcalfe's role in future work on Austen gradually declined, although she did publish in 1923 her revised edition of *Northanger Abbey*. Chapman, to his everlasting shame, never acknowledged her crucial role in starting and inspiring his interest in Jane Austen, nor did he acknowledge his use of her 1912 edition of *Pride and Prejudice* in his Clarendon Press edition of 1923.

Nonetheless, Chapman followed Metcalfe's methodology, and produced the first Oxford edition of the novels of Jane Austen in 1923, in a limited large paper

edition of 1,000 copies that mainly went to university and other academic and institutional libraries. Chapman followed this with a trade edition of the novels in a smaller format in 1926, where the volumes were less lavishly illustrated than the 1923 edition, but maintained the format of the texts. These were each printed in a single volume that mimicked the format of the first editions, and featured facsimile title pages taken from the first editions.



The 1926 Clarendon Press edition of Austen's novels. The bindings are modest, but the printing and the paper are high quality. Rather than illustrating the narratives, the pictures show elements of life in Regency England, such as fashion, architecture and carriages.

Chapman reprinted this version of the Austen novels many times over the next thirty-five years. They went through several new editions and countless new impressions and, most importantly, became the standard texts for Jane Austen from 1923 onwards. Almost every copy of the novels published in English since the Oxford editions appeared has used Chapman's Oxford texts, including all the early Penguin editions. We have all been reading Chapman's Austen, or versions of Austen strongly influenced by the Chapman/Metcalf approach, for a century now.

Chapman and his Oxford collaborators went on to publish just about everything else written by Jane Austen. In the years immediately following the publication of the six canonical novels, Oxford published the three so-called 'Minor Works': *Lady Susan* and *Sanditon*, both in 1925, and *The Watsons* in 1927. In 1932, Robert Chapman published the first academically edited set of letters of Jane Austen, *Jane Austen's Letters to Her Sister Cassandra and Others*, in two volumes that were bound in paper-covered boards that mimicked the typical Regency style. Oxford published the three volumes of juvenilia: *Volume the First* in 1933; *Volume the Second* in 1963; and *Volume the Third* in 1951. *Volume the Second* had been edited by Chapman's successor at Oxford, Dr Brian Southam. In 1954, Oxford published

the first ever collected edition of the Minor Works, which included the juvenilia.

Chapman and his Oxford collaborators made the academic study of Jane Austen respectable. This was all the more remarkable in that many at Oxford still thought that the study of English Literature should venture beyond nothing later than *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* or *Beowulf*. Robert Chapman's *Jane Austen: Facts and Problems* (1948) and Brian Southam's *Jane Austen's Literary Manuscripts* (1964) were both important landmarks of Austen scholarship coming from Oxford. All of this work has been brought together in the monumental *A Bibliography of Jane Austen* published by the Clarendon Press in 1982. It was compiled by David Gilson, who spent much of his career as an academic librarian at the Taylorian Institute in Oxford.

A longer version of this article first appeared in JASA's journal *Sensibilities* 2023.

Notes

1. Deirdre Le Faye, (ed), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition, OUP, 2011, p.226.
2. John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 8, 1814, p.462.
3. Le Faye, p.210.
4. *Ibid.*, p.205.
5. *Ibid.*, p.299.

Notes on Sales

Christine Penney

As a consequence of Christine's illness and death, this year's Notes on Sales is limited to first editions and later significant publications of the novels, together with descriptions from online auction and sale catalogues, meticulously collected and forwarded by Chris from her hospital bed. Professor Kathryn Sutherland very kindly checked and added to the material. I have merely collated and ordered the information provided – a contribution which falls far short of Chris's inimitable scholarship and bibliographical skills, from which readers of the *Annual Report* have benefited since 1995. Hazel Jones (Editor)

Manuscripts

The most exciting items offered for sale in 2023 comprise a manuscript memoir by Jane Austen's brother Admiral Sir Francis Austen and an album containing various pen and ink drawings, watercolour landscapes by Francis's daughter Cassandra Eliza, among other family records and images (some photographs).

Lot 63 at Bonhams, London on 21 June was the biographical memoir of Jane Austen's elder brother, Admiral Sir Francis William Austen, R.N. (1774-1865), giving a laudatory account of his early life and his long naval career until 1863, the last pages written in another hand. The account begins, 'Captain Francis William Austen the youngest but one of five sons of the Revd George Austen, Rector of Steventon and Dean in the County of Southampton' and continues with a description of his exemplary education and disposition; his entering the navy on the *Perseverance* under Captain Isaac Smith; his rise through the ranks on various vessels and captains under the patronage of Admiral Gambier; his aptitude for chart making; carrying despatches to Lord Nelson at Palermo; the blockade of Genoa; his experiences in Egypt; returning to his family in Bath in 1802; his reluctant command of the Sea Fencibles; further travels in the West Indies with Nelson's fleet as captain of the *Canopus*; the death of Nelson; marriage and home in Southampton; a sojourn on St Helena on East India company business; on the China station; retirement to Chawton; his grief at the death of his first wife and marriage to Martha Lloyd; appointment as Commander in Chief of the West Indies station and his impressions of America and ending with his position as 'senior Admiral of the Red'. C.78 pages, occasional foxing, marbled wrappers, worn, 4to (198 x 160mm.), [c.1863].

By family repute the memoir was written by Francis himself, although written in the third person. Brian Southam also concurs, describing it as an autobiographical memoir. While the descriptive narrative moves swiftly on, there are moments of deeper reflection and detail, such as a description of his sojourn at Jaffa where he describes in harrowing detail a massacre by Napoleon's troops, which would also indicate that it was a personal memoir. The manuscript as a whole remains

unpublished but short extracts have been published in various biographies of the Austens.

Provenance: Admiral Sir Francis William Austen (1774-1865); his son Revd Edward Thomas Austen (1820-1908); thence by descent to the present owner. Estimate £2,000-£3,000. It was purchased by Jane Austen's House for £2,200 (hammer price).

Lot 64 in the same sale was an album relating to Admiral Sir Francis William Austen and his daughter Cassandra Eliza Austen (1814-1849), containing some seventy-three landscape and maritime watercolours and drawings depicting scenes in the West Indies, Bermuda and Canada, comprising c. twelve topographical reliefs probably by Francis ('Porto Santo', 'Peak of Teneriffe at Sunset April 3rd', 'St Lucia', 'Souffriere Mountain, St Vincent', 'Guadeloupe'); and twelve signed with the initials 'C.E.A.' many dated ('St Pierre, Martinique, Feb 14 1846. French Steamer Styx', 'Port Royal at Sunset March 19 47', 'Halifax from the road to Point Pleasant, Sept 3rd 47', 'Kingston and Port Royal, Jamaica'); further drawings of shipping ('HMS *Illustrious* & *Persian*/ Bermuda', 'HMS *Pickle*') and landscapes abroad ('Clarence Hill Bermuda May 27 1845' (2), 'Shultzs Inn Great Lake Halifax', 'Quebec') and at home ('Godmersham Church', 'Godmersham Park, Kent') with a portrait of a young gentleman; plus forty-five photographs of European landscapes etc., twentieth-century ownership inscriptions in pencil on inner front board, pencil, pen and watercolour, half calf, marbled boards, worn, drawings 175 x 254mm. and smaller, album 225 x 300mm.), [1845-1848]; with document dated 9 March 1860 confirming the position of the Austen family plot in Brompton Cemetery ('No.9669 on the plan of the said cemetery') and official Notice of Intestacy of Martha Austen née Lloyd (second wife of Francis William Austen), dated 3 April 1843. Admiral Sir Francis William Austen enjoyed a long and distinguished career in the Navy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and his memoir, offered in the present sale, describes in detail the many actions he encountered. After peace with France he served as Commander in Chief of the North America and West Indies Station from 1845-1848, when the scenes in this album were painted. In his memoir he describes at length the various places visited during this appointment including Bermuda, Nova Scotia and Saratoga, where he found the men coarse and the women lacking modesty and decorum. Francis, by his own volition, enjoyed considerable talents in the area of topographical drawing and it is supposed that those drawings in the album are his ('Capt A from a very early period of his Naval Life had given great attention to Hydrography, never missing an opportunity of doing something of the sort wherever he went'). Many of the other works are likely to be by his unmarried daughter Cassandra Eliza (1814-1849), who travelled with him, along with her sister Fanny. Indeed, his ship *Vindictive* (1844-1848) could well be described as a 'family ship', with his sons Herbert and George and his cousin Charles Jnr, also taking positions on board. The artist who painted these delicate watercolours was described in far from glowing terms by a young Lieutenant, William King-Hall

in his diary: 'An amused and amusing witness . . . Cassandra, a woman of forty features as 'Miss Vindictive' and the 'atmosphere' on board was 'dangerous'. If the ship's captain (Michael Seymour) were to leave, 'Cass would be the Adl. and commanding officer'. In a later entry when the *Vindictive* had reached Bermuda, he observed, 'She is the Mistress of the Ship, influences the Adl. in every way, and in fact, I imagine will soon be Commander in Chief'. Such, he commented, were the 'evils of a Family Ship'. Also of note in the album are two delicate pencil sketches of Godmersham, the seat of Edward Austen Knight, Jane Austen's elder brother. A pencil inscription on the front paste-down by a descendant and dated February 1972 erroneously attributes the signed watercolours to Cassandra Esten Austen (1808-1897), daughter of Francis's younger 'sailor brother', Charles. Provenance: Admiral Sir Francis William Austen (1774-1865); his son Revd Edward Thomas Austen (1820-1908); thence by descent to the present owner. Estimate £2,000-£3,000. It was acquired by Jane Austen's House for £2,800 (hammer price). The total price paid by Jane Austen's House to Bonhams for lots 63 and 64 was £6,400.

First and early editions

Sense and Sensibility

Lot 783 at Dominic Winter on 14 June: 1833 *Sense and Sensibility: A Novel*, first illustrated edition, London: Richard Bentley, 1833, half-title, engraved frontispiece and vignette title, additional printed title, four leaves of advertisements to front, lightly spotted, neat ownership inscription to front pastedown, original plum cloth, rebaked with original spine laid on (portion of spine lost, endpapers renewed), spine labels chipped with some loss, lightly marked, 8vo. Estimate £400-£600.

Pride and Prejudice

Several editions of the novel were offered by Dominic Winter on 14 June:

Lot 780: three volumes, second edition, London: T. Egerton, 1813, half-titles, first four leaves of volume three torn to upper right-hand corner (neatly restored, not touching text), two small marginal tears to B3 of volume one, occasional light spotting (a few leaves slightly heavier), bound to style in modern blue half morocco over brown marbled boards, spines divided into compartments by gilt borders, two compartments lettered in gilt, four compartments with small devices in blind, 12mo. Gilson A4; Keynes 4. Published in the same year as the first edition. 'No alterations were made in this edition by the author, though a few obvious misprints have been corrected' (Keynes). 'The size of the edition is not known. Sales, as with the second edition of SS, do not seem to have been brisk.' (Gilson). Estimate £8000-£12,000.

Lot 521: First 'Peacock' edition, London: George Allen, 1894, illustrations by Hugh Thomson, including frontispiece with tissue guard (browned and offset to frontispiece and title-page), half-title spotted, previous owner's inscription to front free endpaper, all edges gilt, original dark green cloth, with peacock design in gilt to spine and upper cover, spine edges slightly frayed, upper joint with some

dark residue (and a small trace on adjacent upper cover), some faint marks to lower cover, lower corners a trifle rubbed, 8vo. Estimate £1,000-£1,500.

Lot 525: Second 'Peacock' edition, London: George Allen, 1895, illustrations by Hugh Thomson, including frontispiece with tissue guard, half-title with contemporary ownership inscription, occasional light spotting (mainly to preliminaries), all edges gilt, original dark green cloth with peacock design in gilt to spine and upper cover, spine a trifle frayed at head and with gilt slightly dulled, some light spotting and faint marks to lower cover, 8vo. Estimate £600-£800.

Lot 523: Large Paper copy, London: George Allen, 1894, half-title, full-page frontispiece and illustrations to text by Hugh Thomson, all China paper proofs, decorative initials, Large Paper edition of 250 copies for England and twenty-five copies for America, additionally signed by Thomson to head of title, top edge gilt, remainder untrimmed, with the original red buckram covers bound at rear, along with the gilt decorated 'peacock' green cloth spine and upper panel and matching portion of the original pale blue pictorial dust jacket also bound at rear, contemporary crushed full green morocco gilt by Riviere, stamped to front turn-in 'Bound by P Riviere & Son for L.S Montague 1895', gilt foliate broad turn-ins, gilt foliate devices to covers and spine, spine faded to brown, large 8vo (26 x 17.5 cm). Gilson E78. 'A unique copy of the large paper issue of the 'Peacock' edition. Bound for Louis Samuel Montagu (1869-1927), financier and political activist. The dust jacket for the standard Peacock edition bound in to this copy is one of two known examples that we have traced on the market.' Estimate £2,000-£3,000.

Lot 785: Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1870, 358, [2] pp., half-title, marbled endpapers with armorial bookplate to upper pastedown of Princess Beatrice (1857-1944, the youngest child of Queen Victoria. This armorial was in use from 1858-1917), late nineteenth-century bottle green/blue half calf, gilt decorated spine with morocco title label, extremities lightly rubbed, 8vo. Gilson E36; Keynes 75.

Volume 1112 of the Tauchnitz Collection of British Authors. The Tauchnitz edition was reprinted at later dates without changing the publication date. Gilson's own copy like this one was dated 1870, and stated on the verso of the half-title a list of all Jane Austen's main works in the Tauchnitz edition, of which *Emma* was first issued only in 1877. Estimate £300-£400.

Lot 404 at Dominic Winter on 19 July: third 'Peacock' edition, London: George Allen, 1903, illustrated throughout by Hugh Thomson, including frontispiece and illustrated title, near-contemporary ownership inscription in pencil to front free endpaper, small bookseller's ticket to head of front pastedown, lower hinge cracked, some scattered spotting, top edge gilt, original decorative green cloth gilt, some wear with loss to head and foot of spine, 8vo Gilson E78. The scarce third edition. Gilson notes, 'I have seen a copy so dated in the 'Peacock' binding with all edges trimmed but with the top edge only gilt'. Estimate £150-£200.

Lot 333 at Bonhams, 28 September: *Pride and Prejudice*, the 'Godmersham Edition', number 87 of 100 copies specially bound and signed by John Ward

and Alwyn Austen, from an edition of 750, pictorial endpapers, original brown morocco, gilt, 4to, Nottingham Court Press, 1985. Estimate £400-£600.

Peter Harrington offers for sale *Pride and Prejudice*. London: George Allen 1894. First fully illustrated edition, presented here in an attractive arts and crafts style binding with Celtic influences, signed by the London bookbinder Maurice George de Rupe Roche (1882-1943). This was the first edition of *Pride and Prejudice* to feature illustrations accompanying the text, as Bentley's 1833 edition and subsequent printings had featured only a frontispiece. Octavo (188 x 123 mm). Bound in full green morocco by Maurice George de Rupe Roche (signed 'M.G. de R.R. 1905' on rear turn-in), spine decorated with geometric designs, covers with delicate strapwork cruciform gilt panel, edges gilt with subtle gaufering, turn-ins ruled in triple gilt fillets. Frontispiece, prolific illustrations in the text, including scenes, historiated initials, and head- and tailpieces, all by Hugh Thomson. Spine and covers faded to brown, joints and ends skilfully repaired, a little faint staining to margins of outer leaves, contents largely unaffected. £5,000.

Emma

Lot 102 at Bonhams on 28 September: *Emma*, 'Standard Novels' series, first Bentley edition, 1833, half-title, engraved frontispiece and vignette title, small ink ownership inscription front endpaper, without advertisements at rear, light off-setting, spotting to peripheral leaves, otherwise occasional, contemporary boards, rebaked and recorned, 8vo. Estimate £400-£600.

Peter Harrington has for sale an 1898 George Allen edition. Octavo. Original green cloth, spine and front cover lettered and elaborately blocked with floral design in gilt, green coated endpapers, top edge gilt. Frontispiece, twenty-eight full-page illustrations and chapter headpieces by Hammond. Spine cocked, spine ends and corners just bumped, spot of wear to lower outer corner, a little rubbed, inner hinge cracked but firm at gutters of pp.304 and 320, internally very fresh. Gilson E92. £1,250.

Northanger Abbey and *Persuasion*

At the Rare Book Fair at the Saatchi Gallery, Kings Road, London on 18-21 May, Peter Harrington had for sale a first edition, dated 1818, in a beautifully preserved and unrestored contemporary binding. £35,000.

Collected Editions

Lot 21: Stride & Son on 15 April, *Pride and Prejudice*; *Mansfield Park*; *Sense and Sensibility*; *Northanger Abbey*/*Persuasion*: London, Richard Bentley, 1837-9 (engraved titles dated 1833). Together four volumes, nineteenth century calf gilt with later red morocco labels, *Northanger Abbey* with repair to upper compartment of spine, some wear and rubbing, 12mo. Estimate £1,000-£1,500.

Lot 399 at Cheffins on 27 April, *The Novels and Letters*, twelve volumes, 'Winchester Edition', Edinburgh: John Grant, 1911-12, 8vo, titles printed in red and black, half titles, modern brown half morocco over marbled boards, spines

gilt with red and green morocco labels, top edges gilt others untrimmed. Estimate £1,000-£1,500.

Lot 27 at Bonhams London, 25 May: *Pride and Prejudice*, engraved frontispiece, vignette title and printed title all dated 1833, occasional foxing, contemporary green half calf over marbled boards, spine gilt, rubbed, Richard Bentley, 1833; *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*, engraved frontispiece, vignette title and printed title all dated 1833, some foxing, contemporary half calf over marbled boards, rubbed, Richard Bentley, 1833, 8vo. Two volumes from the first collected edition of Austen's novels published by Bentley. The first work bears the bookplate of Nelson Matcham. Estimate £1,000-£1,500.

At the same Bonhams sale, Lot 125: *The Novels*, in twelve volumes; 'Winchester Edition', titles printed in red and black, modern crushed brown half morocco, spines gilt with red and green morocco labels, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1911-12. Estimate £1,500-£2,000.

On 14 June, at Dominic Winter – Lot 527: *The Novels*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1908-1910, edited by Reginald Brimley Johnson, colour plates by A. Wallis Mills, scattered spotting (especially to edges), pictorial endpapers, top edges green, original green cloth gilt, with oval pictorial paper panel to upper boards, spines lightly faded, and some fraying to extremities, occasional light marks, 8vo, together with *The Novels*, the text based on *Collation of the Early Editions* by R.W. Chapman, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, monochrome frontispieces, uniformly bound in dark blue quarter morocco over buckram boards, 8vo. Estimate £300-£400.

St Mary's Books in Stamford advertised the following collection for sale on 23 April: *Sense and Sensibility* three volumes, second edition, London: Printed for T. Egerton, Whitehall. Three volumes, 12 mo. Vol. 1 306 pp. i-iv 1, no half title, verso blank. London: Printed C. Roworth. Vol. II 278 pp. London: Printed C. Roworth. Vol. III. 294 pp. London: Printed C. Roworth. Bound in half sprinkled calf with marble sides, full decorative gilt spines with red title bands, and green labels. Gilt inlay to front and rear boards with 'LOND1813' to the bottom of each volume. After the first edition sold out by July of 1813, the text was then reportedly revised by Austen herself. This second edition was first advertised on Friday 29 October 1813 and published the same day, with a price of 18s on boards. Published during Austen's lifetime. (Gilson A2)

Pride and Prejudice first edition in three volumes, London: printed for T. Egerton. Three volumes 12 mo., Vol 1. 307 pp.i-iv no half titles. Vol. II 239 pp.i-iv. Vol. III. 323 pp.i-iv. Bound in full sprinkled calf with double ruled gilt boards, red leather title bands in gilt, and green labels reading 'AUSTEN' with volume number. 'LOND 1813' to the bottom of the spines in gilt, with gilt inlay to the inside front and rear boards. Regarded by many as Austen's finest work. This particular example stands as one of the finest of the 1st editions that St Mary's Books have seen.

Emma first edition in three volumes, London: printed for John Murray. Three volumes. Vol. I. features a dedication to the Prince Regent; 322 pp. with no half

titles. Vol. II. 351 pp. Vol. III. 363 pp. with a list of other titles published: 'Lately were published by the author of *Emma*, 1. *Sense & Sensibility* Second Edition, 2. *Pride & Prejudice* Second Edition, 3. *Mansfield Park*.' Bound in full sprinkled calf with double ruled gilt boards, red leather title bands in gilt, and green labels reading 'AUSTEN' with volume number. 'LOND 1816' to the bottom of the spines in gilt, with gilt inlay to the inside front and rear boards.

Mansfield Park second edition in three volumes, London: printed for J. Murray. Three volumes, 12 mo. Vol 1. 360 pp. Vol II. 294 pp. Vol. III. 354 pp. Bound in half sprinkled calf with marble sides, full decorative gilt spines with red title bands, and green labels. Gilt inlay to front and rear boards with 'LOND1813' to the bottom of each volume. *Northanger Abbey & Persuasion* in four volumes. First edition, London: printed for John Murray, 1818. Four volumes, 12 mo. Vol 1. 300 pp. + xix [Biographical notice of the author & Postscript] Vol. II. 331 pp. Vol. III 280 pp. The start of *Persuasion*. Vol. IV. 308 pp. Bound in half sprinkled calf with marble sides, full decorative gilt spines with red title bands, and green labels. Gilt inlay to front and rear boards with 'LOND1818' to the bottom of each volume. A total number of 1750 copies were printed of the first edition in December of 1817 at a cost of £238.17s. The work was first advertised in *The Courier* No. 7861 on 17 December 1817. Initial sales were rapid, totalling 1409 copies (Gilson A9). Published after Austen's death. £175,000.

The following collections are all for sale by Peter Harrington:

The Novels, Edinburgh: George Grant 1911-12. First expanded 'Winchester Edition', the most attractive unillustrated edition of Austen's works produced around the turn of the century, here uniformly bound in contemporary morocco and scarce. The final two volumes, containing *Lady Susan*, *The Watsons*, the letters, and appendices, were not included in the original ten-volume 'Winchester Edition', published by Grant Richards in 1898. Provenance: from the library of Michael Parsons, sixth Earl of Rosse (1906-1979), with his bookplate on the front pastedown. Twelve volumes, octavo (212 x 152 mm). Contemporary half burgundy morocco, spines with five raised bands, lettered in gilt with single gilt fillet border to compartments, covers ruled in gilt, burgundy cloth sides, marbled endpapers, top edges gilt, fore and bottom edges untrimmed. Photogravure portrait frontispiece with tissue guard in volume I. Title pages printed in red and black with large floral monogram vignette. Text printed on handmade paper. Spines lightly sunned. £5,750. A second copy of the same set is for sale at £1,875.

The Novels, London: Allan Wingate, 1948. The 'Chawton Edition'. Six volumes, octavo (184 x 122 mm). Contemporary green half morocco by Sangorski & Sutcliffe, spines lettered and ruled in gilt, compartments stamped in gilt with central device, green cloth sides, sides and corners ruled in gilt, cream endpapers, top edges gilt. Title pages with vignette of the author's cottage in Chawton, Hampshire. Some scattered foxing mainly to prelims, spines and boards a little faded. *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice* lettered the wrong way round. £1,875.

The Novels, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933. Third Clarendon Edition of

Austen's collected novels; all first impressions except for *Pride and Prejudice*, which is the third impression of the second edition. Contemporary red half calf by Bumpus, red cloth sides, raised bands, spines lettered in gilt, compartments and covers ruled in gilt, edges gilt. Frontispiece to each volume and forty-two plates. Lightly rubbed and bumped at extremities, front inner hinges cracked or partially cracked but firm, edges of endpapers somewhat browned, contents otherwise clean and crisp. Gilson E150. £2,250.

The Novels, London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1882. The 'Steventon Edition'. Six volumes, octavo (199 x 140 mm). Mid-twentieth-century red half morocco, spines lettered in gilt, red cloth sides, light pink endpapers, top edges gilt, others untrimmed. Monochrome frontispiece to each volume; printed in brown throughout. Spines lightly sunned, bindings in nice condition without wear, occasional running foxing yet generally clean. Gilson D13. £3,750.

Other material

On Peter Harrington's list is *The Loiterer*. Oxford: 1789-90. First edition, possibly Jane Austen's first appearance in print. This scarce periodical was written by James and Henry Austen while they were at Oxford. Some scholars have suggested that in issue number nine, the letter signed 'Sophia Sentiment' was the work of their sister Jane when she was thirteen. Although Gilson does not include this work in his *Bibliography*, there is a strong case that the work was written by Jane Austen. According to the British Library: 'critics such as Paula Byrne have noted that there are various correspondences between the letter and Jane Austen's juvenilia. Her early, epistolary novel *Love and Freindship* [sic], for example, has two heroines quite as shallow as Sophia. But other critics, such as Kathryn Sutherland and Claire Tomalin, find it unlikely that Austen would have written a letter so critical of women's reading choices. They suggest that Sophia Sentiment's letter was probably written by one of Austen's brothers.'

Gilson suggests that it was through the publication of *The Loiterer* that she became acquainted with Egerton of Whitehall (who was the London distributor of this work from the fifth number on) who later published *Sense and Sensibility*. Octavo (208 x 125 mm) in sixty parts, with printed part-titles for each. Contemporary pale tan polished calf, spine divided in six compartments by raised bands, red morocco label, other compartments gilt with central flower tools. Contemporary ownership inscription of R. Ekins at head of front free endpaper. Joints starting, some light chipping and wear, part-title for No. 2 mounted on a stub, Q1 with small marginal tear in corner with loss, marginal worming to a few leaves, a very good copy. £5,000.

At Boldon Auction Galleries, Tyne and Wear on 2 June, Lot 459: 'An Enduring Romance with Jane Austen' presentation booklet and 2017 gold proof £2 coin. Estimate £700-£800.

Finally, Sotheby's New York catalogue for 8 December, 2023 featured Isaac D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*. London: for J. Murray, 1791, 8o. With Jane Austen's signature in upper right-hand corner of the titlepage. (Described Gilson,

K8.) A letter from R.A. Austen-Leigh testifies to the signature as hers. The book was offered in Elkin Mathew's catalogue *One Hundred Unusual Books, Manuscripts, Letters and Drawings*, in 1945 as Item 2 (£50) and sold to Scribner's New York from where it was purchased. There are pencil underlinings and marginal lines beside a few passages, but evidence for Sotheby's claim that these were possibly made by Jane Austen herself is extremely tenuous. It seems likely that this was among the books she sold in 1801 when the family moved, on the Revd George Austen's retirement, to Bath. Sotheby's New York expected the book to attract between \$100,000 and \$150,000 (£79,682 and £119,522). It was auctioned alongside first editions of all of Austen's published works, together with a typed letter signed, from R.A. Austen-Leigh to J.D. Muir, authenticating the signature on the title-page of *Curiosities* as Jane Austen's. One page, 12mo, 1 New-street Square, London, 27 March 1945. A typed letter signed, from Bill Jackson to Raymond E. Hartz, concerning a letter received from Percy Muir describing the letter from Austen-Leigh, stating that the *Curiosities of Literature* is coming through customs and promising to send him the book with his bill. One page, 4to, Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Houghton Library, 9 June 1945. A compliments slip signed, from Elkin Matthews, begging acknowledgement of the receipt of a cheque for \$215:33. One page, Takeley, Bishops Stortford, 1 August 1945. Provenance: Jane Austen (signature to title) – Elkin Matthews (Catalogue 100, 1945, item 2) – Mrs. Raymond E. Hartz (letter; see Gilson K8).

In the event, *Curiosities of Literature* sold for \$215,900; *Sense and Sensibility* for \$241,300; *Pride and Prejudice* for \$152,400; *Mansfield Park*, \$241,300; *Emma*, \$82,550 and *Northanger Abbey/Persuasion*: \$69,850.

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*'I meant to be uncommonly clever':
Elizabeth Bennet and Emma Woodhouse*

Janet Todd

In her diary for 1920 Virginia Woolf noted that great literary characters have it in them to change according to the generation that looks at them. Following generational whim, we emphasise satire or sadness or subversion, the political delights, desires and diversities of our own day. Characters and their fictional contexts alter according to the period that looks, as well as to the individual eye and to that eye as it ages.

Recently I was asked by Cambridge University Press to write short prefaces and provide notes for the six Jane Austen novels, the teenage writing and the later manuscript works, intended for a reader-friendly rather than scholarly edition. For the project I reread all Austen's works and was struck again how much the six finished novels are in dialogue with each other. When she has created one heroine, Jane Austen investigates not quite an opposite but an alternative; then she seems to swerve back and subtly repeat or draw on the previous heroine, making a sort of fugue of her published oeuvre. The connections are many, some clear, others needing to be teased out, but for this talk I've looked at the heroines from two novels. The first is from one of the most popular works of English Literature, *Pride and Prejudice*, now made global in title and plot, and the second, from the critics' favourite, the stylish, enigmatic *Emma*. My way into both young women is their wit or, perhaps better, a quickness with language.

Let us remind ourselves of the different genesis and reception of these two works. Although the heroines are of the same age, twenty, the creator of the first was also twenty, the creator of the other a mature woman in her late thirties. For Elizabeth Bennet, Austen did not worry about outside judgement; she declared her partiality for her creation in an ebullient letter to her sister Cassandra in the year of the novel's publication: 'I must confess that I think her as delightful a creature as ever appeared in print, & how I shall be able to tolerate those who do not like her at least, I do not know.'¹ Compare this with a reported statement of her older-age view on Emma: 'I am going to take a heroine whom no one but myself will much like.'² Between these two lies the shadow of improperly clever Mary Crawford of *Mansfield Park*, that lady with a mind 'darkened, yet fancying itself light'.³ Unlike the heroines, she is a natural horsewoman. Jane Austen does not seem to take to spirited women riders – any more than to male huntsmen. (She does not even much appreciate Mrs Elton's notional and Mrs Cole's real donkey as a mounted animal.)

Austen's anxiety over *Emma* spreads out to the novel as a whole. She wrote, 'My greatest anxiety at present is that this 4th work sh^d not disgrace what was good in the others . . . I am very strongly haunted by the idea that to those Readers who have preferred P&P. it will appear inferior in Wit'.⁴ She knew she had written

an extraordinary, experimental work, her stylistic masterpiece: but would it be understood?

She had reason for disquiet. Unlike *Pride and Prejudice*, both heroine and novel have made readers uneasy. You need to re-read *Emma* to catch hints of what is going on, attend to the sometimes informative gossip of garrulous Miss Bates and silly Harriet, both of whom have a security of detail missed by the cleverer heroine. Attending to Mrs Bennet brings no such informative reward but much amusement.

People do of course re-read *Pride and Prejudice*, but you don't absolutely have to, as you do *Emma*. The earlier work has plenty of plot and comic coincidences, many fine group scenes and *tete à tete*s that move the story along and reveal character. Above all, it has a thumpingly romantic pair in the middle, whose coming together you desire from early on in the book. You get the main point, if not all the complexities, of the novel at first reading and you get it early on. It must be a novice consumer of romantic fiction who does not expect that the man of 'fine, tall person, handsome features, noble mien' and £10,000 per annum will be tamed by the bright-eyed heroine into marriage or that Lydia will come to grief with a redcoat soldier. Needing no 'solemn nonsense',⁵ the book spins along pleasantly making variety through different tempi, with proper surprises and the best comic dialogue Jane Austen wrote. She had few anxieties about its reception, and overall within her family the response was gratifying.

Emma was different. Many of the first (and subsequent) readers were nonplussed in the way they had not been with *Pride and Prejudice*, precisely bewailing the lack of 'story' so successfully delivered in the earlier work. While Jane Austen's naval brother Charles enthused over *Emma*, wonderfully eliding heroine and book – 'I am delighted with her, more so I think than even with my favourite *Pride & Prejudice*, & have read it three times in the Passage'⁶ – other readers less tempted to persevere were far from sure. One friend thought the novel 'too natural to be interesting' and another announced that 'in fact if she had not known the Author, [she] could hardly have got through it'; a further one took the precaution of reading only 'the first & last Chapters, because he had heard it was not interesting'.⁷ The response is strange, for *Emma* is the only novel that actually has a mystery at its centre, with Mr Knightley as a kind of flawed sleuth suspiciously looking for hints and clues between the visitors.

The notion that *Emma* lacks story may have amused Austen who mocked the excess of sensational events in so many novels, including Mary Brunton's moral adventure tale, *Self-Control*, of which she wrote, 'I declare I do not know whether Laura's passage down the American River, is not the most natural, possible, everyday thing she ever does'.⁸ And, in her spoof 'Plan of a Novel' mocking fictional fare including the Brunton book, she describes the main fictional heroine with the exasperation of the feminist Mary Wollstonecraft, who expressed hers in the tart comment on silly female novelists – 'Pray Miss put up your pen and write no more'.⁹ Jane Austen would not have endorsed this stern putdown for she liked a silly novel to laugh at with her niece Anna, who brought back volumes from the

circulating library for them both to enjoy and ridicule. This is her spoof recipe for the kind of woman other novelists were creating: 'Heroine, a faultless Character herself.—perfectly good, with much tenderness and sentiment, & not the least Wit.'¹⁰

'Wit' or cleverness in women is much commented on in conduct books and contemporary moralistic novels. In *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, Daniel Defoe declares that to be called witty is only complimentary for a woman when associated with feminine graces. Otherwise, she is 'impertinent', a word Elizabeth Bennet uses for herself and Caroline Bingley employs to denigrate her. The Bluestocking hostess and woman of letters, Elizabeth Montagu considered: 'Wit in women is apt to have bad consequences; like a sword without a scabbard, it wounds the wearer and provokes assailants.'¹¹ In *Essays on Various Subjects Principally designed for young Ladies*, Hannah More, hugely influential in moulding the moral attitudes of the middle classes during the Napoleonic Wars and whose novel *Coelebs* was mocked by Jane Austen before she even read it, wrote that the clever young girl should suppress the lively, caustic remark, especially if true. In her *Rural Walks: in Dialogues. Intended for the Use of young Persons*, the poet, novelist and children's author, Charlotte Smith urges her pupils always to watch their language. Whatever they think of the company, they will, like Hannah More's model pupil, check 'that flippancy of remark, so frequently disgusting in girls of twelve or thirteen'—even worse in grown women. In novel after novel in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the witty woman or the woman too clever with language comes off badly in moral terms. Even Frances Burney, witty in herself, makes verbal quickness dangerous in fictional women, giving it primarily to cautionary peripheral characters, while in Elizabeth Inchbald's *Simple Story* the quick high-spirited heroine comes to a bad end; her reserved, even abject daughter points the moral of the book through her virtuous, rather miserable but ultimately rewarded life. Knowing what they must create to sell, clever women writers like Burney and Inchbald cannot bear entirely *not* to display characters a little resembling themselves, but they ensure they do not triumph. In Austen, the peripheral are *not* witty—Mrs Elton declares herself to have 'vivacity' but no 'wit'.¹²

It was not always so in English literature. Possibly the easier reception of *Pride and Prejudice* is because of a certain familiarity with its witty central pair. Delightful Elizabeth and her romantic partner Darcy follow the sparring couples who have been on stage for many years past, in Shakespeare's Beatrice and Benedict from *Much Ado About Nothing*, as the contemporary *Critical Review* noted, and in many Restoration comedies, like Wycherley's *The Man of Mode* or Congreve's *The Way of the World*. Austen's witty woman is much indebted to the playful impertinent Charlotte Grandison from her reputedly favourite novel, Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*. But Richardson's perky Charlotte is not the heroine, and *Pride and Prejudice* may be the originator of the romantic sparring *lead* couple in the primmer era of the novel.

Emma has a less clear lineage. The character Emma becomes uncomfortably and comically close at times to the criticised witty or assertive heroines in moral

exemplary fiction that depicts female verbal cleverness coming to proper grief. Charlotte Lennox wrote *The Female Quixote* to display the romance-obsessed girl who, enthralled by her reading, misconstrues the real world and exaggerates her own significance until brought to reason and social submissiveness by a wiser man. The same trajectory exists in Eaton Stannard Barrett's later *The Heroine*; both books were much admired by Jane Austen. In this tradition she created Catherine Morland of *Northanger Abbey*, who, overwhelmed by Gothic fiction, is laughed out of it by patronising Henry Tilney. To a much slighter extent, the tradition might include Emma Woodhouse.

Emma and Elizabeth must both have been readers of 'novel trash' rather than more serious literature: Elizabeth goes out of her way to declare she is *not* a great reader and she joins her father in mocking the avid and serious student of the family, the less attractive Mary, subject of a recent sympathetic book by Janice Hadlow. Mr Knightley notes Emma's lists of worthy *unread* books and the plan of reading with Harriet fails. Both heroines are presented more as storytellers who have learnt from Gothic and sensational fiction as well as from popular plays. Emma makes characters of the people around her, then imposes her imagining onto them – upper-class birth for Harriet Smith, the usual romance background of the unknown orphan, and a naughty liaison for handsome secretive Jane Fairfax. She sees neither for what they are – exposed young girls for whom in this society even modest matrimony suggests the best chance of happiness. The indelicacy of Emma's fiction-based, patronising interference with Harriet is underlined by its closeness to what her arch rival Mrs Elton is doing with the equally vulnerable Jane.

As she imposes her imagining on people, so too Emma imposes on place. From the heights of Hartfield within its notch in the old Donwell estate, she looks through almost feudal eyes, seeing nothing of the changing social composition and shifting classes of Highbury. She stands at the door of Ford's shop, achieving an almost Romantic vision of her undistinguished village simply by listing to her satisfaction its ordinary particulars. Mr Weston is within her orbit, so is elevated; he marries a governess, but one once involved with herself. However, the rising Coles and Perrys, the mercantile and medical families of Highbury, are not so gratifyingly included. As with Highbury, so with Donwell Abbey and the tenancy, Abbey Mill Farm. Aware of her connection with a family 'untainted in blood', she makes of these working farms a picture of pastoral England with its neat fields and pastures under a moderate sun. Abbey Mill Farm becomes part of a picturesque vista of unchanging rural England without reference to the increasingly respectable and rising Martins or to the changing agricultural methods on which they and the Knightleys depend. (Mr Martin, as presented by Emma, lacks aesthetic looking – note the assumed absurdity of a lowly postilion appreciating landscape in the teenage story 'Jack and Alice'.) Both visions of Highbury main street and of Donwell estate suggest stasis, an acceptance of old English hierarchies and ways. Part of Jane Austen's genius is that, with her subtle techniques of free indirect speech and stream of consciousness, her shifting closeness to and ironic distance

from the heroine, she allows the reader to appreciate both the seduction of Emma's static visions and their limitation.

Emma and Elizabeth Bennet are clever, headstrong, supremely healthy, and what used to be called in tutting tone, 'forward' – more so than any other Austen heroine. But Elizabeth Bennet differs from Emma in being more of a danger to herself than to others with her self-dramatizing. She makes a story of what has happened at the Meryton assembly where she was publicly snubbed by Darcy; her hurt feelings are soothed by telling her tale 'with great spirit', for she delights in 'anything ridiculous'.¹³ This habit of fictionalising herself lets her judge simplistically. She ridicules her awkward cousin Mr Collins and cannot understand her friend Charlotte regarding him as other than the butt of her jokes. More privy to Charlotte's assessment of Mr Collins's advantages, the reader understands that it would not have been altogether absurd to try to keep the heir of Longbourn attached to the family as Mrs Bennet wished – Mary, we are told, would have had him but she is passed over in the general hilarity of Elizabeth and her father.

Like Emma, Elizabeth flattens mixed characters, so that either Wickham is good and Darcy bad or the reverse. She gives quick sketches of people and then is trapped by them, rarely afterwards checking how a fact might be corroborated. She believes and endorses Wickham's story of ill-use when she finds him interested in her, then, as trustingly, believes Darcy's letter of explanation knowing his interest. From evidence in the novel, we see that Wickham is a gold-digger but his enjoyment of the company of two Bennet girls suggests this isn't his exclusive character. A bad egg, but a little more unknowable than Elizabeth allows. The virtuous Mr Darcy becomes all good but has a young sister so cowed she is eager to escape his oppressive presence with the first man who unbends to her.

Elizabeth and Emma enjoy their own abilities. The first character was created by a youthful author who had just finished writing her naughty and rambunctious, often indecorous juvenilia, and, despite the psychological realism of the portrait, cheery Elizabeth is sometimes close to the pert and sprightly heroines of these teenage years. She delights in her own spirited sallies, and prepares them for use. She tells Charlotte she *intends* to be cheeky with Darcy and relish getting the better of him. Usually, it is the young man who discomfits the young lady, but Elizabeth has learnt the technique from her father, who, surrounded by silly wife and younger daughters, has made her his companion in bringing out the worst in his family for his own amusement. In a less determined way, Emma too enjoys mocking the sillier women whose situations shadow hers: Mrs Elton and Miss Bates – until of course she misconstrues subject and audience and is taken to task for her self-indulgent comedy on Box Hill. When each is asked to say three dull things, she cannot resist quipping to prosy Miss Bates, 'Pardon me—but you will be limited as to number—only three at once'.¹⁴ She understands her error only when chided by Mr Knightley; after reading Darcy's letter, Elizabeth thoroughly understands the truth about her indecorous family and extends their flaw to herself, for she too has been loose-tongued and loose-eared.

So, after being played on by unworthy men, Elizabeth by Wickham and Emma

by Frank Churchill, both women are reformed and silenced by better men's rebukes. One reason for this is that, in a narrative context, wit or verbal cleverness tends to be attractive. For proof, we only need glance at that youthful unpublished novella *Lady Susan*. Aware that eloquence is the greatest asset a woman can have, Lady Susan intends to exploit it to control men's desire. Under cover of feminine performance, she pursues the traditionally masculine aim of seducing to enjoy sexual, and even more psychological, mastery: 'There is exquisite pleasure in subduing an insolent spirit,' she remarks.¹⁵ (Difficult not to think of Elizabeth Bennet and Darcy here.) Austen's later heroines are a good deal younger than the dashing widow and from the gentry not the raffish aristocracy, and none of them follows her in sacrificing 'conscience', a powerful word in Austen's lexicon, but they share something of her recklessness with language. In their frequent frankness they remain distinct from the other heroines, including Jane Austen's last, Charlotte Heywood of *Sanditon*. Even when indignant at the meanness of the great lady of the seaside resort, Lady Denham, Charlotte 'kept a civil silence'.¹⁶ Like Elinor Dashwood, Fanny Price, and Anne Elliot, Charlotte is aware of the constant social compromise necessary between self and society which, at the outset of their novels, Elizabeth and Emma have yet to learn.

Elizabeth Bennet and Emma Woodhouse justify rather than judge themselves for their verbal habits. Elizabeth knows she is witty at other people's expense but declares she does not laugh at what is good. Perhaps not, but we see her laughing at others before understanding them. She outwits Caroline Bingley while having no sympathy for this young girl and her awkward hankering after Darcy, and she mocks Miss de Bourgh, comparing her arrival at the rectory to the escape of pigs as a source of excitement, feeling no compassion for the ailing daughter of a dominating mother. At home she sneers at her earnest studious sister Mary. As aware of rank as snobbish Emma, she takes an opposite tack: where Emma disparages those supposedly beneath her, Martins, Coleses, and Eltons, Elizabeth mocks the upper gentry from a lower position, initially siding with Wickham against Darcy and taking pleasure in besting Lady Catherine de Bourgh.

Part of their freedom is that, unlike the majority of young girls of all classes, Elizabeth and Emma regard themselves as above the urgency of marriage. Yet marriage is on their minds. Elizabeth is open to the possibility – or she would not need the warnings of her Aunt Gardiner concerning the impecunious dallying Wickham or have urged her mother to invite him to Longbourn or have gone to the Netherfield Ball intending to subdue his heart. Likewise, when Colonel Fitzwilliam makes it clear he has no intentions toward her at Rosings, she declares she does not mean to be unhappy about him – suggesting that she *had* indulged a notion of him as suitor. In both cases she falls for easy charm – though by now Charlotte Lucas has already surmised the interest in her friend of the more considerable Darcy. Emma and Mrs Weston have both fantasised the union of Emma and Frank Churchill, and Emma duly flirts with him as soon as he appears, making a public show of it as in the embarrassing scene on Box Hill.

Yet, despite their habits of light flirtation, both Elizabeth and Emma believe

themselves outside common social and sexual imperatives. This sense has come from their peculiar place in their families. Mr Bennet has long been giving 'the preference' among his daughters to clever Elizabeth, while Emma says that she will never be more significant to anyone than she is to her father and more mistress (one might even say master) of a house. In all his exhausted manhood, Mr Woodhouse does not even sit at the bottom of a conventional dining table, and a large circular one has been introduced. But if Emma appears independent in ways beyond Elizabeth, the invaluable dependent father causes dependence in her, so that he becomes an incubus in the way the more vulgar Mrs Bennet – or even her sardonic spouse – does not. Emma has worked to cocoon her father, to act as wife and mother to him, while he has controlled her with his fears. The family asks a lot of her, for it includes not just this whimsical father but her impatient brother-in-law and timorous sister and the appreciated servants of the household. 'Oh! I always deserve the best treatment, because I never put up with any other,' she laughs; in fact she has a great deal to put up with and do at Hartfield.¹⁷

According to her mother's boast, Elizabeth Bennet has nothing to do in the kitchen. The book opens with her trimming a hat and later she is sewing without eagerness but that's about the sum of her domestic activities. So, when she goes to marry, Elizabeth can simply shrug off the family beyond the favoured sister. Derbyshire is conveniently far from Hertfordshire, Pemberley from Longbourn, and Elizabeth may never need visit Meryton again. But Highbury is the place of birth, marriage and probably death for Emma, who cannot walk away, and nobody but Frank and Jane Fairfax leave. For all her verve and cleverness, she has not travelled and rarely walks alone – in sharp contrast to sprightly puddle- and stile-hopping Elizabeth Bennet.

For all their differences, as Austen created them, both Elizabeth and Emma know that any independence of manner they might have is only superficial. Compared with men, all women are dependent. Colonel Fitzwilliam prates of being dependent but Elizabeth takes him up on the claim: 'the younger son of an Earl' will not know much of it. Emma and Knightley dispute the issue, with Emma noting that Mr Knightley can have little understanding 'of the difficulties of dependence'. She adds, 'You do not know what it is to have tempers to manage.'¹⁸ Neither hero understands this aspect of a woman's life and work; indeed both are at sea about women generally. From his admiration of the proper wifeliness of the former governess, trained in paid dependence at Hartfield, we see what Knightley thinks a wife should be. Darcy agrees with Caroline Bingley that 'A woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages . . . ; and besides all this, she must possess a certain something in her air and manner of walking, the tone of her voice, her address and expressions, or the word will be but half deserved'. To which Darcy responds, 'to all this she must yet add something more substantial, in the improvement of her mind by extensive reading'.¹⁹ One hopes that both heroes abandon these culturally conditioned views of the female sex under the ridicule of their unconventional wives.

I want here briefly to bring in another Emma, also an opinionated young

woman, heroine of that most interesting of Jane Austen's fragments, the unfinished novel, *The Watsons*. Emma Watson has a dying father and a worthy dead uncle who, wrongly trusting to his widow not to marry foolishly, has left Emma poor. (Note this lady's place in Austen's line of foolish or unpleasant enriched women – Mrs Ferrars, Lady Catherine, Mrs Churchill, Lady Denham, shades perhaps of Austen's own unlikable Aunt Jane Leigh Perrot.) Without the family status and cushion of Emma Woodhouse or Elizabeth Bennet, Emma Watson tries to steer a path towards matrimony while, in her pragmatic sister's view, holding ideas now above her middle-class station. In the conversation she and her elder sister have concerning matrimony they echo Elizabeth Bennet and Charlotte Lucas. Where younger, prettier Emma thinks marriage not essential for an educated woman, while knowing nothing of the options outside, especially teaching – incidentally, no heroine thinks of publishing, just Frank Churchill in *Emma* – Elizabeth Watson, nearing thirty, knows the reality, dreads it and sees only marriage with or without love as an option for a woman without money. Jane Fairfax too expresses forcefully a horror at actual independence from family, the earning of a living by one's own work. Many genteel women of the time *did* work outside the home but it never went well in fiction.

Emma Watson has needed her older sister to tell her truths of the world as it is and to teach her the needs and expedients of women who may not have the mental, physical and social advantages of the attractive nubile heroines. As Elizabeth fails to understand Charlotte Lucas's predicament and indeed Caroline Bingley's, so Emma fails with Harriet and, I think, Augusta Hawkins. These women know they want and need husbands. The Northern Bingleys are not far from trade and Mrs Elton comes from legal and mercantile families in Bristol. So, not quite secure in gentility, Caroline Bingley and Augusta Hawkins suppose snobbishness an asset and both achieve the (of course deserved) contempt of the securely genteel heroines.

In different ways, the Bennet and Woodhouse families protected their young women from understanding the sexist nature of society. One has only to compare them with Anne Elliot or Fanny Price. The enabling fathers have led their daughters to believe they have almost a male latitude of speech and action. Mr Bennet knew that what was acceptable in a boy was not in a girl, but his lack of care for the manners of his daughters, his 'neglect and mistaken indulgence',²⁰ echoes his carelessness for their economic future. Indulged by admiring father and uncritical governess, Emma has imbibed the same lesson. But, as she notes, spoiled children can recoup – well they can in romantic comedy if not in bleaker *Mansfield Park*, where it is too late for punning Mary Crawford or passionate Maria Bertram. To conclude. Where Fanny Price and Anne Elliot develop or recapitulate themselves as sexual beings needing no moral and social reforming, Elizabeth and Emma have been mistaken and need correction. These sprightly heroines are humbled by their menfolk; through resulting, *temporary* self-reproach, they edge from intuition and self-dependence to outside morality, channelled to them through a would-be lover. Mary Crawford shares their linguistic brio, errs but does not properly retract

and recant. Tested for feminine response she is improperly flippant over Maria's adultery, where Elizabeth Bennet cries in horror at Lydia's flight and Emma is appalled at the impropriety of Frank Churchill. According to the serious discussion in *Mansfield Park*, moral authority *should* rest with clergymen, but the clerics in *Emma* and *Pride and Prejudice* are comic creations, roundly rejected by the heroines. Instead, both young women are enthralled by hereditary estates inherited through the male line in a way deplored only by the ridiculed Mrs Bennet and Lady Catherine. From the male landowners comes a kind of moral authority unavailable elsewhere.

In the final pages of her novel, neither young woman is deprived of her verbal spark although it is modified and there is no suggestion their husbands will rise to their imaginative flair. Darcy in particular will always be a little dull-witted, as the late Hilary Mantel apparently surmised in a proposed spinoff. Elizabeth suggests she will laugh at him in the future, but we do not see it happening. She teases him about how he came to love her, by then comparing herself unkindly to Miss Bingley, almost making her pert ways into an intended seduction. Stationary in her father's house, Emma cannot quite stop planning weddings. These are realistic endings for the sprightly woman who, taken down a notch, is not taken out. We leave Elizabeth inviting the middle-class Gardiners for Christmas, which they used to spend at Longbourn, where the remaining Bennets are in no way altered. Mrs Bennet and Lydia are always themselves and Mr Bennet still makes a sardonic joke of Lydia's near catastrophe. He will dent the slight pomposity of Pemberley by turning up without polite and proper warning for a visit. Emma has avoided transplantation, the main evil of matrimony according to delicious Mrs Elton and will outrank the vicar's wife while not moving from her adoring father's house.

Re-reading these wonderful novels again, I couldn't avoid discovering a sweetly traditional vision joined to a sceptical wistful sense of wit and cleverness as part of the intelligent female self. Whatever happens in other women's fiction of the time, it is, as Emma declares, too late in the day for the Austen heroine to become naïve and simple, even if that way a less complex virtue might be delivered. In *Persuasion* Anne Elliot contemplates the contented Musgroves, knowing that even before her happy ending she could not and would not exchange identities with them. Here I see perhaps impertinently a kind of wry image of Jane Austen herself, embedded even confined as she is, like Emma, in family and community, both to be continually endured. Wit and cleverness in older women are in this society their own reward – unless of course you are a writer of genius, when they can, for all their sparkling social pointlessness, set out to entertain centuries of readers.

Notes

1. Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*. Fourth Edition. OUP, 2011. Letter 79.
2. Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: A Family Record*. CUP, 2004, p.209.
3. *Mansfield Park*, Vol. III chapter 6.
4. Le Faye, *Letters*. Letter 132(D).

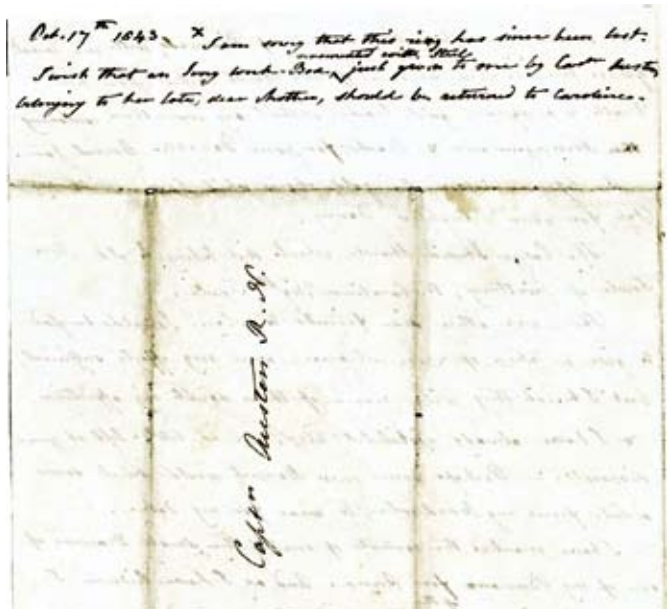
5. *Ibid.*, Letter 80.
6. Le Faye, *Family Record*, p.230.
7. Jane Austen, 'Plan of a Novel'. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1926. 'Opinions of *Emma*'.
8. Le Faye, *Letters*. Letter 91.
9. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (eds), 'Contributions to the *Analytical Review*. *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*. London: William Pickering, 1989, Vol. II
10. 'Plan of a Novel', p.9.
11. Matthew Montagu (ed.), *The Letters of Elizabeth Montagu*. London, 1810, Vol. 3, pp.96-97.
12. *Emma*, Vol. III chapter 7.
13. *Pride and Prejudice*, Vol. I chapter 3.
14. *Emma*, Vol. III chapter 7.
15. *Lady Susan*, Letter 7.
16. *Sanditon* chapter 7.
17. *Emma*, Vol. III chapter 18.
18. *Ibid.*, Vol. I chapter 18.
19. *Pride and Prejudice*, Vol. I chapter 8.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. III chapter 4.

Corrigendum Annual Report 2022

John Avery Jones, Devoney Looser, and Peter Sabor

The authors of the essay, ‘Cassandra Austen’s Last Years and Wishes, with New Documents and Transcriptions’, published in the *Jane Austen Society Report 2022*, would like to make an addendum to our work. In our essay, we transcribed, annotated, and described several surviving documents of Cassandra Austen’s late life. One of these documents was an 1843 letter, with her final wishes, now in the Morgan Library in New York. We wrote that that letter was, in our essay, ‘transcribed and published in full for the first time’ (p.33). It has since come to our attention that the letter, minus its short postscript, was included in Kathryn Sutherland’s five-volume set, *Jane Austen’s Fiction Manuscripts* (Oxford University Press, 2018, Volume 5, Appendix I, pp.300-7). We recommend Sutherland’s work to JAS readers for its transcription, its informative annotations about the Austen family members named in the letter, and its reproduction in facsimile of three of the four pages of Cassandra’s letter. Readers will no doubt want to consult and learn from Sutherland’s work – as we now have – alongside our essay’s transcription and annotations. We focused greater attention on the objects that Cassandra’s letter describes. We also transcribed and annotated Cassandra’s postscript, not included in *Jane Austen’s Fiction Manuscripts*. An image of that postscript is reproduced here so that Jane Austen Society readers may have access to the entirety of the letter, in facsimile and transcription, by joining Sutherland’s pioneering work in *Jane Austen’s Fiction Manuscripts* with our own.

The fourth page of Cassandra’s Letter of Wishes, dated 9 May 1843. The Morgan Library and Museum, New York (Record ID: 195572, Accession Number: MA 7279). Reproduced with the kind permission of the Morgan Library.



Contributors

John Avery Jones CBE is a retired Judge of the Upper Tribunal (Tax and Chancery Chamber) and a retired visiting professor at the London School of Economics. His articles on the legal and tax aspects of Jane Austen and her family have appeared in the *JAS Annual Report* and in JASNA's *Persuasions Online*.

Mark Ballard has been an archivist at the Kent county archives, Maidstone since 1991, during its incarnations as the Centre for Kentish Studies and now Kent History and Library Centre, apart from an interlude working on projects for East Sussex Record Office, Tower Hamlets Archives, and the Survey of London, between 2012 and 2016. He attended two educational establishments in common with the Revd George Austen, Jane's father: Tonbridge School and St John's College, Oxford, where after a degree in History at St Andrews, he undertook postgraduate research into the fifteenth century.

Janine Barchas holds the Chancellor's Centennial Chair in the Book Arts at the University of Texas at Austin and is currently a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford. She is the author of *The Lost Books of Jane Austen*, the creator behind the website *What Jane Saw* (www.whatjanesaw.org), and, together with illustrator Isabel Greenberg, currently finishing a graphic biography entitled *The Novel Life of Jane Austen* (Quercus, spring 2025).

Chris Browne is a retired medical researcher and academic who studied at York and Oxford, followed by five years at McGill University in the 1970s, before spending most of his working life in the Faculty of Medicine at Monash University in Melbourne, where he is Professor Emeritus. He has been a book collector for more than fifty years and has put together during that time a library of around 15,000 books. His main interests are nineteenth and early-twentieth century English literature and the history of English publishing and printing.

Martin Caddick is the House Historian at Chawton House, as well as being a volunteer/guide both there and at the Jane Austen House Museum. As part of this role Martin has undertaken extensive research into the history of Chawton House and the Knight family and has written the detailed interpretation material provided to in-house guides. His podcasts and talks are available on the Chawton House website and YouTube channel.

Rita J. Dashwood a former Postdoctoral Research Associate at the University of Liverpool, is currently a Senior Postdoctoral Fellow at Ghent University in Belgium. Her work has been published in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, in *Nineteenth-Century Studies* and in several edited collections of essays. She won the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies President's Prize for

her research on Austen. Her first book, *Women and Property Ownership in Jane Austen*, was published by Peter Lang in 2022.

Sarah Emsley is the author of *Jane Austen's Philosophy of the Virtues* (Palgrave) and editor of *Jane Austen and the North Atlantic*, a collection of essays from the 2005 Jane Austen Society conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In the summer of 2024 she will be hosting an online celebration of *Sense and Sensibility*, featuring guest posts from several well-known Austen scholars (at www.sarahemsley.com).

Richard Foster is Fellows' Librarian and Keeper of Collections at Winchester College, where he teaches History and Art History and is Head of Division in the Middle School. He is the editor of *50 Treasures from Winchester College* (2019) and the author of several articles about books and libraries in the seventeenth century. He is currently preparing an exhibition (to open in the summer of 2025) exploring the links between Jane Austen and Winchester.

Jane Hurst is a local historian, researcher, writer and guide based in Alton, Hampshire. She is a regular contributor to Jane Austen Society publications and her books include *Jane Austen and Chawton*, *Jane Austen and Alton* and *William Curtis, Altonian and Botanist*.

Azar Hussain is an independent researcher based in the UK. His research is focused on the eighteenth century and specifically on Jane Austen. A number of his articles have appeared in the Society's *Annual Report*, *Notes & Queries* and *Persuasions/Persuasions On-Line*.

Sheila Johnson Kindred formerly taught in the Philosophy Department of St Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. She writes and lectures about Jane Austen's family and her fiction. Her book *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Sister: the Life and Letters of Fanny Palmer Austen* was published in 2017.

Cheryl Kinney is a gynaecologist in private practice in Dallas, Texas, where she is Director of the Centre for Female Health and Hormone Disorders. She has lectured around the world on issues relating to gynaecology and has spoken throughout the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom on health and sickness in the novels of Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, Elizabeth Gaskell and other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British authors.

Maggie Lane is the author of many books including *Literary Daughters*, *Jane Austen and Food*, *Jane Austen's World*, *Growing Older with Jane Austen* and *On the Sofa with Jane Austen*. Since 1991 Maggie has served the Jane Austen Society in various capacities, including a period as Editor of the *JAS News Letter* and the *Annual Report*. She was active in establishing two of the Society's regional

branches and has lectured on many aspects of Jane Austen's life and work in the UK and beyond.

Christine Penney spent most of her working life at the University of Birmingham, first as University Archivist and then as Head of Special Collections for the last ten years before retirement. She was Hon. Hurd Librarian at Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire, and began compiling Notes on Sales for the Jane Austen Society in 1995.

Janet Todd is a biographer, critic, editor and novelist. Her biographical subjects include Aphra Behn, Mary Wollstonecraft, her daughters Fanny and Mary Shelley, and her Irish pupil, Lady Mount Cashell. Her latest fiction is *Jane Austen and Shelley in the Garden: a Novel with Pictures* and her latest critical work is an illustrated edition of Jane Austen's *Sanditon*. She is finishing an eight-volume edition of Jane Austen for Cambridge University Press. It will be published in 2025 and be accompanied by a personal discussion of Austen's life and work entitled *Living with Jane Austen*. Janet Todd has had a long career in academics, in the USA, the UK, and Africa. She is a former President of Lucy Cavendish College, University of Cambridge, and Emerita Professor of the University of Aberdeen. She is now an Honorary Fellow of Lucy Cavendish and Newnham Colleges, and lives in Cambridge.

Report of the Trustees and
Unaudited Financial Statements
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023
for
The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

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Detailed Statement of Financial Activities	167-168

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Report of the Trustees
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

The trustees present their report with the financial statements of the charity for the period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023. The trustees have adopted the provisions of Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1 January 2019).

OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Objectives and aims

The Charitable Incorporated Organisation (CIO) was formed on 21st September 2022 with the objective of taking over the net assets and activities of the unincorporated charity The Jane Austen Society (registered charity 1040613).

The principal objective of the Society is as follows:

To promote the advancement of education for the public benefit of the life and works of Jane Austen and the Austen family, in particular by publications or any other means that the charity trustees may deem appropriate.

The objective is primarily achieved by the production of publications relating to the life and works of Jane Austen, through education and by contributions to academic debate regarding Jane Austen, her works and family.

The Society, where appropriate, may seek to preserve artefacts relating to Jane Austen, either by purchase or by contributions towards expenses. In particular it may contribute to projects at Jane Austen's House Museum in Chawton.

The Society's objectives for the year were to build on the progress made in previous years and to raise the profile of the Society by the production of new articles and publications.

Public Benefit

When planning activities and considering the making of grants, the trustees have considered the Charity Commission's guidance on public benefit and in particular, the specific guidance on charities for the advancement of education and the advancement of the arts, culture, heritage or science.

The trustees believe that the Society fulfils these objectives through its educational activities, by its contribution to historical research regarding Jane Austen and the preservation of artefacts relating to Jane Austen and the Austen family.

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Report of the Trustees
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Significant activities

On 1st January 2023, the net assets and activities of the unincorporated charity The Jane Austen Society (registered charity 1040613) were transferred to the CIO.

No net assets were held or activities performed by the CIO during the period from 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2022.

The Society did not produce or reprint any publications in the period.

No conference was held in 2023. The 2024 annual conference is planned to be held in Sheffield in September 2024.

In anticipation of the 250th anniversary of Jane Austen's birth in 2025, the trustees launched a fundraising initiative in 2018 to support the educational role of the Society. This is known as the "Jane Austen 250 Fund" and although an unrestricted fund, a purpose which the trustees specifically wish to support is the educational activity of the Jane Austen's House Museum. No grants were made from this fund in 2023. Two payments totalling £150 were made from the fund in respect of the Society's essay prize.

No applications were received for grants from the Education Fund during the period. The cost of the Society's new website, however, amounting to £25,445 was charged to this fund in 2021 as in the opinion of the trustees this enhanced functionality contributes to the educational objective of the Society.

FINANCIAL REVIEW

The financial results for the period are set out in the Statement of Financial Activities on page 6 of these financial statements.

There was a surplus of income over expenditure on the general fund of £212,670 in the period. Of this amount, however, £213,074, represents the transfer of funds from the unincorporated charity. Excluding this transfer there was a deficit on the general fund of £404. This deficit was covered, however, by an increase in the value of the Society's investments of £21,052, resulting in a surplus of £20,648 excluding the transfer.

Further information regarding the charity's reserves is given in the accounting policies note on page 8 of the financial statements.

As the unincorporated charity is a separate legal entity to the CIO, the results of the unincorporated charity for the year ended 31st December 2022 are not shown as comparative figures in these financial statements.

FUTURE PLANS

The trustees' aims in the future are to continue to promote the objects of the Society, by the production of publications, the organisation of conferences and any other activities which they consider appropriate.

STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Governing document

The charity is controlled by its constitution adopted on 21st September 2022.

Recruitment and appointment of new trustees

The members or the trustees may at any time decide to appoint a new trustee either in place of an outgoing trustee or as an additional trustee, provided that the total number of trustees does not exceed 15.

New Trustees will receive a copy of the constitution and any amendments made to it and a copy of the Society's latest annual report and statement of accounts. New trustees are also referred to the Charity Commission's guidance on the duties and responsibilities of trustees.

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Report of the Trustees
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Organisational structure

The number of Trustees shall be at least 3 and shall not exceed 15.

The first trustees of the charity were as set out in the constitution adopted on 21st September 2022.

At every Annual General Meeting of the Society, one third of the elected charity trustees shall retire from office. If the number of elected charity trustees is not three or a multiple of three, then the number nearest to one third shall retire from office. The charity trustees to retire by rotation shall be those who have been longest in office since their last election or re-election. Any person who retires as a charity trustee by rotation or by giving notice to the Society is eligible for re-election. A charity trustee who has served for three consecutive terms may not be re-elected for a fourth consecutive term but may be re-elected after an interval of at least one year.

The following trustees will retire at the 2024 Annual General Meeting and will not seek re-election: Matthew Huntley, Clare Graham and Richard Jenkyns.

Andrea Clarke having been appointed since the last Annual General Meeting will retire at the 2024 Annual General Meeting and being eligible will offer herself for re-election. Michael Kenning and Fiona Ainsworth will also retire at the 2024 Annual General Meeting in accordance with the constitution and being eligible will offer themselves for re-election.

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Registered Charity number

1200422

Principal address

20 Parsonage Road
Henfield
West Sussex
BN5 9JG

Trustees

Maureen Stiller (appointed 21.9.22)
Fiona Ainsworth (appointed 21.9.22)
Clare Graham (appointed 21.9.22)
Sharron Bassett (appointed 21.9.22)
Mary Hogg (appointed 21.9.22)
Michael Kenning (appointed 21.9.22)
Fiona Riley (appointed 21.9.22)
Marion Davies (appointed 21.9.22)
Heather Thomas (appointed 21.9.22)
Matthew Huntley (appointed 21.9.22)
Richard Jenkyns (appointed 21.9.22)
Andrea Dorothy Clarke (appointed 14.10.23)

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Report of the Trustees
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Independent Examiner

D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA
Sheen Stickland
Chartered Accountants
2 Oriel Court
Omega Park
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 2YT

Bankers

Nat West Bank Plc
105 High Street
Winchester
Hampshire
SO23 9AH

RESERVES

The Society's policy regarding reserves is detailed in note 1 on page 9 of these accounts. The trustees consider, on the basis of current information available, that these funds are adequate to meet their known future commitments.

Approved by order of the board of trustees on*3rd June 2024*..... and signed on its behalf by:



.....
Richard Jenkyns - Trustee

Independent Examiner's Report to the Trustees of The Jane Austen Society

Independent examiner's report to the trustees of The Jane Austen Society

I report to the charity trustees of the Trust on my examination of the accounts of The Jane Austen Society (the Trust) for the period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023.

Responsibilities and basis of report

As the charity trustees of the Trust you are responsible for the preparation of the accounts in accordance with the requirements of the Charities Act 2011 ('the Act').

I report in respect of my examination of the Trust's accounts carried out under Section 145 of the Act and in carrying out my examination I have followed all applicable Directions given by the Charity Commission under Section 145(5)(b) of the Act.

Independent examiner's statement

Since your charity's gross income exceeded £250,000 your examiner must be a member of a listed body. I can confirm that I am qualified to undertake the examination because I am a member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales, which is one of the listed bodies.

I have completed my examination. I confirm that no material matters have come to my attention in connection with the examination giving me cause to believe that in any material respect:

1. accounting records were not kept in respect of the Trust as required by Section 130 of the Act; or
2. the accounts do not accord with those records; or
3. the accounts do not comply with the applicable requirements concerning the form and content of accounts set out in the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 other than any requirement that the accounts give a true and fair view which is not a matter considered as part of an independent examination.

I have no concerns and have come across no other matters in connection with the examination to which attention should be drawn in this report in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.



D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA

Sheen Stickland
Chartered Accountants
2 Oriel Court
Omega Park
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 2YT

Date: 13/12/24

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Statement of Financial Activities
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

		Unrestricted funds £	Restricted fund £	Total funds £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM	Notes			
Subscriptions, donations and legacies	2	23,856	-	23,856
Other charitable activities	3	28,076	-	28,076
Investment income	4	8,598	-	8,598
Other income	5	329,612	1,000	330,612
Total		<u>390,142</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>391,142</u>
EXPENDITURE ON				
Charitable activities				
Charitable activities		<u>62,382</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>62,382</u>
Net gains on investments		<u>21,052</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>21,052</u>
NET INCOME		<u>348,812</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>349,812</u>
TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD		<u><u>348,812</u></u>	<u><u>1,000</u></u>	<u><u>349,812</u></u>

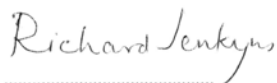
The notes form part of these financial statements

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Balance Sheet
31st December 2023

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted fund £	Total funds £
FIXED ASSETS				
Heritage assets	8	60,000	-	60,000
Investments	9	250,153	-	250,153
		<u>310,153</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>310,153</u>
CURRENT ASSETS				
Debtors	10	5,662	-	5,662
Cash at bank		40,590	1,000	41,590
		<u>46,252</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>47,252</u>
CREDITORS				
Amounts falling due within one year	11	(7,593)	-	(7,593)
		<u>38,659</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>39,659</u>
NET CURRENT ASSETS				
		<u>38,659</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>39,659</u>
TOTAL ASSETS LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES		<u>348,812</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>349,812</u>
NET ASSETS		<u>348,812</u>	<u>1,000</u>	<u>349,812</u>
FUNDS	12			
Unrestricted funds				348,812
Restricted funds				<u>1,000</u>
TOTAL FUNDS				<u>349,812</u>

The financial statements were approved by the Board of Trustees and authorised for issue on 3rd June 2024 and were signed on its behalf by:



Richard Jenkyns - Trustee



Matthew Huntley - Trustee

The notes form part of these financial statements

Notes to the Financial Statements
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Basis of preparing the financial statements

The financial statements of the charity, which is a public benefit entity under FRS 102, have been prepared in accordance with the Charities SORP (FRS 102) 'Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1 January 2019)', Financial Reporting Standard 102 'The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland' and the Charities Act 2011. The financial statements have been prepared under the historical cost convention, with the exception of investments which are included at market value, as modified by the revaluation of certain assets.

Income

All income is recognised in the Statement of Financial Activities once the charity has entitlement to the funds, it is probable that the income will be received and the amount can be measured reliably.

The net assets of the unincorporated charity, The Jane Austen Society, were transferred to the Charitable Incorporated Organisation at their value as shown in the accounts of the unincorporated charity for the year ended 31st December 2022.

Expenditure

Liabilities are recognised as expenditure as soon as there is a legal or constructive obligation committing the charity to that expenditure, it is probable that a transfer of economic benefits will be required in settlement and the amount of the obligation can be measured reliably. Expenditure is accounted for on an accruals basis and has been classified under headings that aggregate all cost related to the category. Where costs cannot be directly attributed to particular headings they have been allocated to activities on a basis consistent with the use of resources.

Grants offered subject to conditions which have not been met at the year end date are noted as a commitment but not accrued as expenditure.

Taxation

The charity is exempt from tax on its charitable activities.

Fund accounting

Unrestricted funds can be used in accordance with the charitable objectives at the discretion of the trustees.

Designated Funds represent unrestricted funds earmarked for particular purposes by the trustees of the Society in the exercise of their discretionary powers.

Restricted Funds are funds which are subject to a restriction as to their use.

Further explanation of the nature and purpose of each fund is included in the notes to the financial statements.

Investments

Investments are stated at mid-market value at the balance sheet date. All movements in value arising from investment changes are shown in the Statement of Financial Activities.

Unrealised gains and/or losses are the difference in market value of investments held at the beginning of the year, or their cost if purchased in the year, and at the end of the year.

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES - continued

Heritage Assets

Under the provisions of the Charities SORP heritage assets are included on the balance sheet at their latest valuation.

Reserves

The balance of the general fund (excluding designated funds and the value of heritage assets) represents approximately 33 months expenditure (based on expenditure in the period ended 31st December 2023) which the trustees consider to be appropriate in the circumstances.

£120,000 of the legacies received, by the unincorporated charity, in the years ended 31st December 2003 and 31st December 2004 was transferred to a designated fund to cover a range of the Society's educational activities. The trustees consider that the Society website forms part of its educational activities and therefore the cost of upgrading this was charged to the Education Fund.

Branches and Groups

Branches of the Society as defined in charity law are an integral part of the Society and as such enjoy various privileges and responsibilities in regard to the Society. In particular a branch can call upon the Society for financial support and is covered by the public liability insurance of the Society. The financial results of the branches are incorporated into the Society's statement of financial activities and the assets and liabilities of branches are included in the Society's balance sheet.

A group is an informal gathering of members of the Society (or others) from a particular area and has no connection in law with The Jane Austen Society, and the financial activities of groups are not included in these accounts.

Details of activities of the branches are shown in note 14 to the accounts.

Website Costs

Website costs are recognised as an expense in the year of expenditure as, in the opinion of the trustees, the primary function of the website is to promote the activities of the charity and therefore does not meet the conditions required to be treated as an intangible fixed asset.

2. SUBSCRIPTIONS, DONATIONS AND LEGACIES

	£
Annual subscriptions received	14,673
Gift Aid tax recoverable	1,690
Sundry donations and receipts	2,436
Legacies	5,057
	23,856

continued...

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

3. OTHER CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES

	£
Sales of fundraising items	5
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	2,427
Income of branches	25,644
	<u>28,076</u>

4. INVESTMENT INCOME

	£
Income from listed investments	8,598
	<u>8,598</u>

5. OTHER INCOME

	£
Net assets transferred from unincorporated charity	330,612
	<u>330,612</u>

Other income represents the value of the net assets of the unincorporated charity, The Jane Austen Society (charity number 1040613), which were transferred to the charity on 1st January 2023.

6. TRUSTEES' REMUNERATION AND BENEFITS

There were no trustees' remuneration or other benefits for the period ended 31st December 2023.

Trustees' expenses

During the period a total of £1,532 was reimbursed to seven trustees in respect of travelling and other expenses.

7. NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE) FOR THE YEAR

	2023
	£
Independent examiner's remuneration	2,000
Other accountancy fees	2,560
	<u>4,560</u>

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

8. HERITAGE ASSETS

	Total £
MARKET VALUE	
Additions	60,000
NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2023	<u>60,000</u>

The Society acquired a portrait of Edward Austen-Knight in 1953. This portrait is now on display at Chawton House Library under a long term loan agreement. This is included in the financial statements as a heritage asset at the professional valuation prepared by Woolley and Wallis in May 2015.

The Society has a clear duty of care for this asset and provisions in this respect are set out in the loan agreement. Any decision regarding public access to the portrait will be at the discretion of Chawton House Library.

The Society does not envisage the acquisition of any heritage assets in the future but will continue to support the Jane Austen's House Museum in any appropriate acquisition by the museum, in particular by the use of funds held in the 250 Fund.

9. FIXED ASSET INVESTMENTS

	Listed investments £
MARKET VALUE	
Additions	229,101
Revaluations	21,052
At 31st December 2023	<u>250,153</u>
NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2023	<u>250,153</u>

There were no investment assets outside the UK.

Cost or valuation at 31st December 2023 is represented by:

	Listed investments £
Valuation in 2023	<u>250,153</u>

Investments at 31st December 2023 represents 12,605 units in the COIF Charities Investment Fund.

The historical cost of fixed asset investments at 31st December 2023 was £229,101. This represents the market value of the investments on the transfer from the unincorporated charity. The original cost of the investments to the unincorporated charity was £154,922.

continued...

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

10. DEBTORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	£
Other debtors	3,931
Prepayments and accrued income	1,731
	<u>5,662</u>

11. CREDITORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	£
Other creditors	2,793
Accruals and deferred income	4,800
	<u>7,593</u>

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS

	Net movement in funds £	At 31.12.23 £
Unrestricted funds		
General fund	233,722	233,722
Education Fund	100,555	100,555
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	10,000
250 Fund	4,535	4,535
	<u>348,812</u>	<u>348,812</u>
Restricted funds		
Acquisition fund	1,000	1,000
	<u>349,812</u>	<u>349,812</u>
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>349,812</u>	<u>349,812</u>

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS - continued

Net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	273,554	(60,884)	21,052	233,722
Education Fund	100,555	-	-	100,555
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	-	10,000
250 Fund	6,033	(1,498)	-	4,535
	390,142	(62,382)	21,052	348,812
Restricted funds				
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	-	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS	<u>391,142</u>	<u>(62,382)</u>	<u>21,052</u>	<u>349,812</u>

13. RELATED PARTY DISCLOSURES

There were no related party transactions for the period ended 31st December 2023.

continued...

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

14. BRANCHES

	Midlands £	Kent £	Northern £	Scotland £	South West £	London £	Hampshire £	Total £
Income								
Subscriptions	467	1,067	1,052	1,181	600	850	335	5,552
Income from events	922	2,553	2,744	3,665	3,255	5,713	449	19,301
Sales of publications	-	86	-	300	-	139	-	525
Donations	100	20	39	12	-	6	15	192
Interest	13	-	24	12	-	-	-	49
Other income	24	-	-	-	1	-	-	25
	<u>1,526</u>	<u>3,726</u>	<u>3,859</u>	<u>5,170</u>	<u>3,856</u>	<u>6,708</u>	<u>799</u>	<u>25,644</u>
Expenses								
Expenses of events	745	2,866	2,300	4,256	3,286	6,686	369	20,508
Cost of publications	596	643	669	-	-	1	213	2,122
Donations	10	112	-	-	-	-	-	122
Administration expenses	53	170	759	754	161	147	71	2,115
	<u>1,404</u>	<u>3,791</u>	<u>3,728</u>	<u>5,010</u>	<u>3,447</u>	<u>6,834</u>	<u>653</u>	<u>24,867</u>
Branch surplus/(deficit)	<u>122</u>	<u>(65)</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>409</u>	<u>(126)</u>	<u>(46)</u>	<u>777</u>

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Detailed Statement of Financial Activities
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

	£
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS	
Subscriptions, donations and legacies	
Annual subscriptions received	14,673
Gift Aid tax recoverable	1,690
Sundry donations and receipts	2,436
Legacies	5,057
	23,856
Other charitable activities	
Sales of fundraising items	5
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	2,427
Income of branches	25,644
	28,076
Investment income	
Income from listed investments	8,598
Other income	
Net assets transferred from unincorporated charity	330,612
Total incoming resources	391,142
EXPENDITURE	
Charitable activities	
Website	3,939
Subscriptions	25
Insurance	757
Sundry expenses	40
Newsletter	9,882
Members' database	673
Annual General Meeting	8,535
Annual Report	6,778
Bank charges	98
Expenses of branches	24,867
Grants	150
	55,744
Support costs	
Management	
Trustees' expenses	1,178

This page does not form part of the statutory financial statements

The Jane Austen Society
(a Charitable Incorporated Organisation)

Detailed Statement of Financial Activities
for the Period 21st September 2022 to 31st December 2023

	£
Management	
Governance costs	
Accountancy fees	4,560
Legal and professional fees	900
	5,460
Total resources expended	62,382
Net income	328,760

